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KURDISH DIALECT STUDIES-I

BY

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TO MY
KURDISH FRIENDS

PREFACE

THE study of Kurdish has a longer history than that of most modern Iranian languages. Yet, although it early became clear that the dialects of Kurdish differed considerably from one another, no attempt has previously been made to classify them. These studies are accordingly intended to point both the feasibility and the necessity of some classification. To this end, a descriptive sketch is given of the grammar of a series of dialects from central Kurdistan, some of them treated for the first time here, and an attempt is then made to group the dialects systematically.

My introduction to Kurdish, in 1951, I owe to Mr. C. J. Edmonds and it is a pleasure to record my gratitude to him for his help and encouragement at all times. The award of a most generous Studentship, 1953–5, by the Committee for Studentships in Foreign Languages and Cultures of H.M. Treasury made it possible for me to visit Iraq and to record new linguistic material. In Iraq my work was lightened by the liberal help and interest of so many Kurds, of all stations in life, that to mention all here would be impossible. I must, however, express my special thanks to Messrs. Fuad Reshid Bekr and Hasan Husein of Suleimaniye and Hashim Haji Hasan of Akre for their continued interest and co-operation.

Beside published works, and my own notes, I have occasionally made reference to the manuscript material collected by Oskar Mann. I am particularly grateful to the Directors of the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, and the Institut für Orientforschung of the Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin for so generously placing this material at my disposal.

The basis of this work was approved by the University of London for the degree of Ph.D. in 1957. Professor W. B. Henning acted as supervisor of my research, and I am profoundly grateful to him for his munificent advice, criticism, and help both then and since.

It remains only for me to acknowledge my great debt to the School of Oriental and African Studies for accepting this work for the London Oriental Series and for meeting the cost of publication.

The texts which complement these studies are to be published shortly in the same Series under the title Kurdish Dialect Studies II.

1959 D. N. M.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

p. xiv. Add: *Šayx Muḥammad Mardūx. Kitāb-i farhang-i Mardūx* [*Sinaī* Kd.–NP.–Ar.], 2 vols., [Teheran, 1957].

p. 96, last line. For *afāyawa* read *gaſāyawa*.

p. 195, line 28. For *girīn*^{2} read *girīn*-^{2}.

p. 225, line 2. Delete *double* line before |Unaspirated stops|.

p. 228, last line. For *hāwourdin* read *hāwirdin*.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Ak.•	Akre	(*town* and district of Mosul province).
Am.•	Amadiye	(*town* and district of Mosul province).
Ar.	Arabic.	
Arb.•	Arbil	(town, *district*, and province).
Bad.	*Bādīnān*	(Kurdish area of Mosul province, comprising Ak., Am., Dhk., Shn., Zeb., Zx.).
Bar.•	*Barwārī-žōr*	(*sub-district* of Am. district).
Bin.•	*Bingird*	(village and *sub-district* of Piž. district).
Bot.	Bo(h)tan	(area south of Lake Van, east Turkey).
BX.†	Bedir-Xan,	op. cit., *v.* Bibliography, representing normalized Bot. and dialects west thereof.
Dhk.	Dohuk	(town and *district* of Mosul province).
E.	Edmonds,	MS. notes, representing normalized Sul., q.v.
Gul.•	*Gullī*	(tribe and *sub-district* of Zx. district).
Hak.	Hakari	(province of south-east Turkey).
Hal.	Halebje	(town and *district* of Sul. province).
Kd.	Kurdish.	
KK.	Kurdoev,	op. cit. (ii), *v.* Bibliography, representing normalized Rwn.
Muk.†	*Mukrī*	(tribe south of Lake Urmiye, north-west Iran).
NP.	New Persian.	
P.	*v.* Sul. P.	
Piž.•	*Piždar*	(*sub-district* and district of Sul. province).
Rdz.•	Rewandiz	(town and *district* of Arb. province).
Rwn.	Erevan	(city, Armenian SSR).
Shn.	Sheikhan	(town and *district* of Mosul province, predominantly Yezidi).
Sor.	*Sōrān*	(Kurdish area of Arb. province and Piž. district, comprising Bin., Piž., Arb., Rdz., Xoš.).
Sul.•	Suleimaniye	(town, *district*, and province).
Sul. P.		Printed sources which, with Sul. E, may contain conscious neologisms.
Sur.•	*Sūrčī*	(*tribe* in Ak. and Rdz. districts).
War.•	*Wārmāwa*	(*sub-district* of Hal. district).
Xoš.•	*Xōšnāw*	(*tribe* south of Rdz. town).

Zeb.	*Zēbārī*	(*tribe* in Ak. district).
Zx.*	Zakho	(*town* and district of Mosul province).

* Numbers following these abbreviations indicate the paragraph of the recorded texts, to be published separately (see Preface); a line — indicates 'from MS. notes'.

† Numbers following these abbreviations indicate:

BX — page of Bedir-Xan, *Langue kurde*;

KK — paragraph of Kurdoev, *Grammatika kurdskogo jazyka*;

Muk. — page and line of texts, or § paragraph of the *Grammatische Skizze*, in Mann, *Mundart der Mukri-Kurden*.

Ø indicates a morpheme 'zero'.

- indicates a bound morpheme, or an enclitic.

( ) indicates 'optional form'.

/ separates 'alternative forms'.

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A
B
BLACK SEA
Erzurum
Erevan
KURDISTAN
ZAZA
Bitlis
L.Van
Van
Diyarbekr
BOHTAN
HAKKARI
L.Urmija
Mardin
Sauj Bulagh
Aleppo
Euphrates
Mosul
Arbil
Kirkuk
Suleimanije
Sine
Tigris
Kirmanshah
Miles
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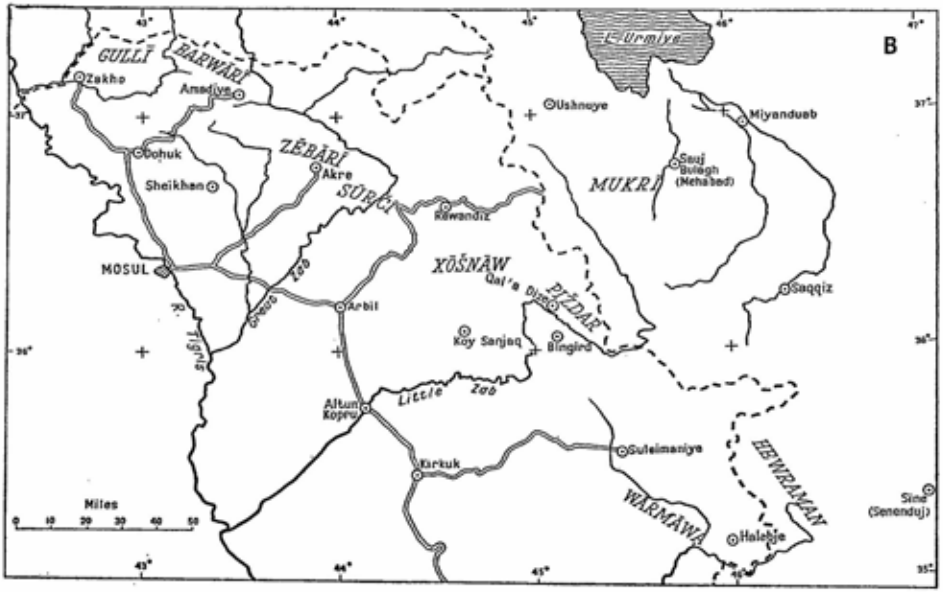

B
L. Urmiye
GULLÍ
HARWÁRÍ
Zakho
Amadiye
Dohuk
Sheikhan
ZÉBÁRÍ
Akre
SÚRÇÍ
Rawandiz
Ushnoye
Miyanduab
Sauj Bulegh (Mehabad)
MUKRÍ
MOSUL
R. Tigris
Greater Zab
Arbil
XÓŠNÁW
Qal'e Diza
PÍŽDAR
Saqqiz
Koy Sanjaq
Bingird
Altun Kopru
Little Zab
Kirkuk
Suleimaniye
HEWRAMAN
WARMÁWA
Halebje
Sina (Senendaj)
Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50
43°
44°
45°
46°
47°
37°
36°
35°

INTRODUCTION

Brevis esse laboro . . .

THE survey of Kurdish dialects which follows is based primarily on material gathered during a visit to Iraqi Kurdistan in 1954–5. Only in the case of the Suleimani dialect has it been possible to supplement this material where necessary with examples from printed sources.

It was originally intended to spend an equal period of time in the Kurdish-speaking areas of Turkey and Iraq. In the event, permission not being forthcoming from the Turkish authorities, some ten months were spent in northern Iraq, between Halebje and Zakho (Map B). From the towns of Suleimaniye and Akre as bases visits were made to the centres of as many dialect areas as could profitably be covered in the time available.

Where possible the linguistic notes made were supported by connected texts, either taken down directly from dictation or recorded on magnetized tape and then transcribed. Inevitably these texts are of unequal value, according both to the nature of their authors and to the possibility of checking them. However, of the texts transcribed without the assistance of the authors those from *Barwārī-žôr* are the only ones presented about which any serious doubt remains.

Throughout the history of Kurdish dialect studies it has been notoriously difficult to find trustworthy informants, even *in situ*. Thus Chodzko's informant in Paris was an aristocrat better acquainted with Turkish and Persian than with his mother tongue; Prym and Socin were obliged to obtain most of their Kurdish texts from an Aramaic-speaking Christian and an itinerant Jewish story-teller; Makas's Mardini Kurd, who had travelled for years in Eastern Europe, was telling stories he had heard twenty years before; even in recent years the authors of the Kurdoev–Cukerman texts were refugees who had arrived in the Caucasus by stages from various parts of Turkey.

The same difficulty was encountered in Iraq in certain cases. Thus the author of the main *Bingirdī* text (Bin. 314–79), a man of about twenty-five years of age, had lived for about one year in

Pižḏar; the *Xōšnāw* speaker, some forty years old, had worked for a dozen years in cosmopolitan Arbil; the *Sūrčī* speaker, well past his fiftieth year, had lived for the past two years on the outskirts of Akre; the forty-year-old *Gullī* informant had lived for about ten years in Zakho.

A new factor disturbing dialectal purity is the spread of the 'official' Suleimani dialect throughout its home province and neighbouring Arbil. Thus the *Wārmāwa* (War. 188–207), *Bingird* (Bin. 299–313) and Arbil speakers had all either attended school or done their military service, and adopted certain Suleimani forms as a result. In the main, however, the pure dialect forms are clearly discernible in all the texts.

As the majority of the dialects treated here have not been recorded or described hitherto, the material is presented in the form of a descriptive grammatical sketch. On the basis of this description the features distinguishing the different dialects are then summarized. In the description the dialects are divided into two *ad hoc* groups purely for convenience. Not unnaturally, however, this division will be found to coincide in general with the grouping into Northern and Central dialects adopted in the summary. In the two groups the two dialects best represented, viz. Suleimani and Akre, are taken as the basis of the description, the other dialects being described only in so far as they differ from these. Where possible the dialects have been quoted in the following, approximately geographical, order:

Group I. Suleimani	Group II. (*Sūrčī*)
Wārmāwa	Akre
Bingird	Amadiye
Pižḏar	*Barwārī-žôr*
Mukrī	*Gullī*
Arbil	Zakho
Rewandiz	(Sheikhan)
Xōšnāw	

Throughout, the words 'the . . . dialect(s) alone', or the like, naturally imply 'alone of those here studied'.

Of previous descriptions of these and neighbouring dialects the following, which have appeared within the last hundred years, alone merit attention.

For the Suleimani dialect the first sketch is that of Chodzko. It is inaccurate in a number of details, some of them hard to explain (e.g. رِوی *reni* 'fox', for *rēwī*), but suffers most from the deficiencies of the informant. His frequent, but not constant, pronunciation of *r* for *l* might be explained as an aristocratic peculiarity (cf. § 14), or as a non-Suleimani form, hardly as an older dialect form.

Both the grammars of Soane give a highly subjective description of the language. Many forms given are divorced from reality (e.g. the paradigms of intransitive verbs in the past tenses, conjugated here as if transitive) and there would be little point in making reference to these details merely to correct them. Even the vocabulary is suspect, in that a great deal of it has been taken uncritically from disparate sources.[1]

Edmonds's description, unfortunately not yet in print, was made available to me by the author as an invaluable introduction to the study of Kurdish. My description of Suleimani, although it may differ in the manner of presentation, is essentially the same as that of Mr. Edmonds. Only where he intentionally errs, from the point of view of dialect purity, in favour of normalization has it been necessary to note the divergence.

The most recent description of a single Kurdish dialect is that of Dr. McCarus. His *Descriptive Analysis of the Kurdish of Sulaimaniya* is an interesting exercise in modern linguistic description. It is regrettable, therefore, that the writer soon parts company with fact and never fully regains touch.[2] As an analysis of the dialect its value is thus somewhat impaired.

The grammars written by Kurdish scholars are of another stamp, being primarily prescriptive in character. An early attempt is that of *Sa'īd Ṣidqī*. Although his analysis is somewhat naïve, and leans towards the Arabic grammatical system, the result is an honest and useful description of the Suleimani dialect at a time shortly after its rise to the dignity of an official written language.

Tawfīq Wahbī's first grammar, published in the following year, is more scientific in character. The writer is, however, concerned to purge the language of its non-Kurdish elements and is accordingly prone to theorize. For this reason he must be followed with caution.

The most recent work is that of *Nūrī 'Alī Amīn*. Although more

[1] e.g. the ghost-word *purs* 'pig', cf. Benveniste, *BSL*, XLV. 88.

[2] See my detailed review in *BSOAS*, XXII. 591.

ambitious, and showing an acquaintance with English grammatical terminology, it could be described *mutatis mutandis* in almost the same terms as *Ṣidqī*'s earlier work. A comparison of the two books gives a valuable idea of the neologisms which have been introduced into the dialect in the course of the last thirty years of development.

Mann's grammatical sketch of the *Mukrī* dialect is quoted throughout for the sake of comparison with the neighbouring *Sōrānī* dialects. Any disagreement with Mann's description is specifically noted. Fossum's grammar of the same dialect, with its attachment to the written form, adds nothing to Mann's analysis.

Of the *Bādīnān* dialects Jardine's short grammar gives a quite accurate basic description. Covering as it does, however, some half-dozen dialects it is not a suitable source for our purposes. Beidar's grammar of the Zakho and neighbouring dialects is entertaining but useless. Indeed, without a good knowledge of the dialect it is almost impossible to interpret the texts given in 'transliteration'.

Rhea's sketch of the *Ḥakārī* dialect is accurate but, although this is nowhere stated, it bears unmistakable signs of representing two or more dialects, presumably those of the Gewer and Urmiye areas in the first place.[1]

There remain the more derivative descriptions of Kurdish in Justi's grammar and Socin's sketch in the *Grundriß der Iranischen Philologie*. Both scholars were severely limited by the information at their disposal. For the dialects covered here only Chodzko's material, discussed above, was available.

Apart from grammatical descriptions there are two sets of texts which can be quoted. The texts from Nehri, southern Hakari, published by M. Nikitine, being in the Persian script, give a good idea of indigenous 'phonemic theory'. At the same time they suffer from the limitations of the script and to some extent require interpretation. They can, therefore, only be quoted here in cases of certainty. It is hoped to publish other material from this source, with a full commentary, at a later date.

The 'Kurdish Songs' of Dr. Mokri are mainly important for the information they provide concerning the lesser-known dialects of southern, Persian, Kurdistan. Nevertheless, the few Suleimani and *Mukrī* songs given provide useful corroborative evidence.

[1] e.g. '*kyautin* or *kautin* or *kaftin*, v. fall', '*khîn* or *khon* [i.e. **xw̄n* : *xūn*], n. blood'.

As it was found impossible to visit eastern Turkey no new material could be obtained concerning the Kurdish dialects of that area. While there is quite a large number of published Kurdish texts from the area—those of Dufresne (*Jl. As.*, 1910), Egiazarov (Tiflis, 1891), Hadank, Jaba, Kurdoev–Cukerman, Le Coq, Lerch, Lescot, Makas, Prym–Socin, &c.—they are extremely unequal in a number of particulars and, above all, lack uniformity. To have included a description of them, with the necessary *apparatus criticus*, would have enlarged this survey disproportionately.

Fortunately valuable evidence relating to these dialects has recently come to light. The material collected by Oskar Mann in the course of his 1906–7 journey from Aleppo to Mosul, via Urfa, Siverek, Diyarbekir, Bitlis, Jezire, and Dohuk, has mostly survived the upheavals of the Second World War and is now divided between the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, and the Institut für Orientforschung of the Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. This material provides a valuable unifying link between these Kurdish texts from Turkey and, moreover, records the dialects as they were before the displacement of Kurdish tribes which followed the First World War. The publication of Mann's material will provide the opportunity to reassess the texts mentioned above.

Apart from the dialect texts quoted there have recently appeared two indigenous grammars of northern Kurdish, those of Bedir-Xan and Kurdoev. Both are normalized and as such do not provide an ideal source of information for a dialect study. However, they are cited parenthetically in the description of the *Bādīnānī* dialects when they give features common to the Kurdish dialects of Turkey and the Caucasus, but contrasting with *Bādīnānī*.

The studies of Cukerman, Miller, and Sokolova are highly specialized and largely deal with dialects beyond the scope of this survey. The same can be said of Barr's description of Andreas's southern Kurdish texts. These latter have been expressly excluded from this survey because of the lack of sufficient new evidence. This is now provided, however, by Mann's manuscript material and will also be the subject of later work.

PART I

PHONOLOGY

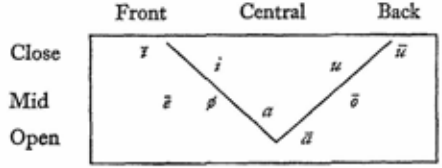
A. DIALECTS OF GROUP I

SULEIMANIYE DIALECT (Kd. *Silaymānī*)

Phonemic System

§ 1. The Sul. dialect has the following phonemic system of twenty-nine consonants (including two semi-vowels, and with one important additional allophone)[1] and nine vowels:[2]

	Labial	*Dental, Alveolar*	*Palato-alveolar*	*Velar*	*Uvular*	*Pharyngal*	*Glottal*
Stop and Affricate	*p*	*t*	*č*	*k*	*q*		
	b	*d*	*j*	*g*			
Fricative	*f*	*s*	*š*	*x*		*ḥ*	*h*
	v	*z*	*ž*	*γ*		*ʿ*	(ʾ)[3]
Nasal	*m*	*n*		*ŋ*			
Lateral		*l* *ł*					
Vibrant		*r* *ṙ*					
Semi-vowel	*w*	(ə)[1]	*y*				



[1] See § 37.

[2] Although this dialect has for some years been the vehicle of Kd. publications in Iraq the modified Arabic script now generally used represents not this, but an 'ideal' Sul. dialect with the phonemic system of the Piž., Muk. dialects (q.v. § 78).

[3] See § 33.

Consonants

Labial

§ 2. *p* is normally a voiceless, aspirated, bilabial plosive [pʻ].

§ 3. *b* is a voiced, unaspirated, bilabial plosive [b]. In secondary contact with a following voiceless consonant it may be devoiced [b̥], e.g.

čī bikam [ˈtʃi: b̥kʻam]

§ 4. *f* is a voiceless, labio-dental fricative [f].

§ 5. *v* is a voiced, labio-dental fricative [v]. It is extremely rare, occurring mainly in such sound-imitative words as *giv(v)a* 'whirr' and by assimilation, as in

ḫavda [ˈhavˈva] < **ḫafda* *tāvga* [taːvˈga] < **tāfga*

§ 6. *m* is a voiced, bilabial nasal [m].

Dental and alveolar

§ 7. (*a*) *t* is normally a voiceless, aspirated, dental plosive [tʻ]. It has two other allophones of restricted occurrence.

(*b*) The 'euphonic' final consonant of the 2nd and 3rd Sg. verbal endings (*v.* § 208 (*c*)) is unaspirated [t]. When in pause, or followed by an initial consonant, the plosive is not released.

(*c*) The *t* of the 2nd Sg. pronominal suffix *-(i)t* (*v.* § 197) may be realized as the unaspirated stop [t] or, more commonly, as a continuant [ə] (*v.* § 37). In view of this unpredictable alternation the continuant allophone may, where necessary, be written *t̯*, e.g.

bit̯girim [ˈbitˌgrim] ~ *bit̯girim* [ˈbiəˌgrim]
čīt̯ kird [ˈtʃiːtˌkʻird] ~ *čīt̯ kird* [ˈtʃiːəˌkʻird]

Following *i*, *ū* in final position this *t* is frequently not realized, e.g.

sēwēki(t) adamē [ˌsɛːwɛːkʻi(t) aˈdamɛ·]
mirdū(t) mirē [mɨrˈduː mɛ·]

It is assimilated by a following nasal or lateral, e.g.

nātnāsim [ˈnaːnˌnaːsim] *čīt̯ lē kird* [ˈtʃiːllɛː ˌkʻird]

§ **8.** *d* has two regular allophones.

(*a*) In initial and postconsonantal position it is normally preserved as a voiced, unaspirated, dental plosive [d], e.g.

dast [dast'] *dāyk* [da̯:ik']
nōzda [nǫ:zˈda] '19' *kird* [k'ɨɾd]

Note, however,

bayā 'Baghdad' *yāŋza* '11', &c.

(*b*) In inter- and postvocalic position it is normally realized as the continuant [ə] (*v.* § 37), e.g.

āmāda [a̱:ma̱:ˈə̯a] *nāwdār* [na̯:uˈə̯a̱:ɾ]
libād [liˈba̯:ə] *bad* [ba̯ə̯]

It may, however, be lost entirely, e.g.

bādam, *bāam* [ba̱:ˈə̯am, ba̱:ˈam] *mawlū* [ma̯uˈlu:] Ar. *mawlūd*

(*c*) Following *m*, *n*, *l*, *v*, *y*, it is assimilated, e.g.

zāmdār [za̱:mˈma̱:ɾ] *birīndār* [bɾi:nˈna̱:ɾ]
dildār [diɨˈɬa̱:ɾ] *ḫavda* [ħavˈva] *maydān* [mɛ̯jˈja̱:n]

§ **9.** The *d* of the verb *dān* 'to give' is exceptional in that it behaves in almost all positions as medial *d* (*v.* § 8 (*b*, *c*)).

(*a*) Normally it is realized as the continuant [ə], as a semivowel, e.g.

dāya [ˈə̯a̱:jɛ̯] *adātē* [aə̯a̱:ˈtɛ:]

or as a vowel, e.g.

hal dirāwa [ˌhałəˈɾa̱:wa]

Between two vowels it may, however, be lost, e.g.

a(d)ātē [aa̱:ˈtɛ:] *b(id)arawa* [ˈbaɾawa] *n(ad)āē* [ˈna̱:jɛ̯]

(*b*) In proximity to *y*; *ī*, *ē*, *ay*, it may be realized as [j],[1] e.g.

dāya [ˈja̱:jɛ̯] *nādayn* [ˈna̱:jɛ̯jn] *fīrē dayt* [ˈfrɛ̣:ʲɛ̯jt]

(*c*) It is assimilated by preceding *m*, *n*, *l*, *y*, e.g.

bimdarē [ˈbimmaɾɛ·] *amāndātē* [ama̱:nna̱:ˈtɛ:]
tēy hal dan [ˈt'ɛ̯:j hałˌɬan] *aydam* [ɛ̯jˈjɛ̯m]

[1] Cf. the realization of the initial *d* (with, however, medial position) in the following fixed, obscene, phrase: *la quzī dāyki(t) bim* [la q'uzi: ja̯:ik'i bim].

Only following *t* is the plosive realization [d] preserved, e.g.
atdātē [aʈdɑːˈtɛː]

§ 10. (*a*) *s* is normally a voiceless, alveolar fricative [s].

(*b*) In three words only this normal realization alternates with an 'emphatic' alveolar fricative [sˤ], the Ar. ص, viz.

sad [sɑ̰ɑ̰, sɑ̰ɑ̰] '100', cf. NP. spelling صد
šast [ʃast', ʃastˤ] '60', cf. NP. spelling شصت
sag [sag, sagˤ] 'dog', cf. Ak. *ṣa* (*v.* § 118).

This need not be considered as more than a phonetic variant.

§ 11. *z* is a voiced, alveolar fricative [z].

§ 12. (*a*) *n* is normally a voiced, dental nasal [n]. In *inʃā* alone it may be vocalic [ˈn̪dʒɑ̰·] (*v.* § 41 (*a*) fn.).

(*b*) [n] does not, apparently, occur before a velar plosive, the only nasal in this position being [ŋ], e.g.

[guliŋˈkʻa, miłwɑːŋˈkʻa, ʃiŋˈgɑːɾ]

A separate phoneme *ŋ* exists (*v.* § 24) and [ŋk, ŋg] might accordingly be taken simply as phoneme groups **ŋk*, *ŋg*. They are often, however, demonstrably realizations of *n*+*k*, *g*, e.g.

a-+-yān+kird [ɛjɑ̰ːnˈkʻɪɾd] *bōn ka* [ˈbɒːnkʻa]
bān+guš [bɑːnˈguʃ]

and there is no objection to considering them as *nk*, *ng* respectively in all contexts. No ambiguity is caused thereby. The velar nasal [ŋ] *before a homorganic plosive* is, therefore, an allophone of *n*, the examples above representing:

gulinka, milwānka, Šingār

The group *ng* is, however, often reduced to [ŋ] *ŋ*, e.g.
**āsingar* > *āsiŋar*

§ 13. *l* is a voiced, dental, lateral non-fricative [l].

§ 14. *ł* is a voiced, velarized, dental lateral [ɫ]. It does not occur in initial position.

With some, rare, speakers it appears to be realized as a retroflex lateral [ɭ]. Some women speakers (perhaps affectedly) replace *ł* by *r* (cf. § 98).

§ 15. *r* is a voiced, alveolar single flap [ɾ]. It does not occur in initial position. It may be assimilated by a following lateral, e.g.

har la [ˈhalla]

§ 16. *r̄* is a voiced, alveolar roll or trill [r].

Palatal

§ 17. *č* is a voiceless, palato-alveolar affricate [tʃ].

§ 18. *ǰ* is a voiced, palato-alveolar affricate [dʒ].

§ 19. Apart from the symmetry introduced thereby into the phonemic system (*v.* § 1) the consideration of *č*, *ǰ* as unit phonemes rests on the nature of their relation to other consonant groups. Thus (*v.* § 56):

(i) Other possible affricate groups, such as *pf*, *kx*, do not occur at all. *kš*, *pš*, *bž*, and *št* occur in initial position only as a result of secondary contact.

(ii) No groups of three consonants occur in initial position except [tʃkʻ, tʃq, tʃl, tʃw, dʒg, dʒw, dʒj]. In medial position no three-consonant groups beginning with a stop occur beside [tʃkʻ, tʃq, tʃm, tʃr, dʒg]. In final position no three-consonant groups occur apart from [ndʒ, ɾtʃ, ɾdʒ].

In each case the interpretation of [tʃ, dʒ] as *č*, *ǰ* respectively obviates the exception.

§ 20. *š* is a voiceless, palato-alveolar fricative [ʃ].

§ 21. *ž* is a voiced, palato-alveolar fricative [ʒ].

Velar

§ 22. *k* is normally a voiceless, aspirated, velar plosive [kʻ].

§ 23. *g* is a voiced, unaspirated, velar plosive [g].

§ 24. (*a*) *ŋ* is a voiced, velar nasal [ŋ]. It never occurs in initial position.

(*b*) In *qiŋ* alone is it vocalic [qŋ̩]. In certain numerals only, in the context *āŋz* (*v.* § 193), the tongue dorsum does not touch the velum, the result being a nasalized frictionless continuant [ŋ̃] (and not a simple nasalization of the preceding vowel), e.g.

yāŋza [jɑ̄:ŋ̃ˈza]

(*c*) When [ŋ] is followed, as occasionally happens in medial position, by a velar plosive it may be considered as an allophone of *n* (*v.* § 12 (*b*)), e.g.

[bɑ̱:ŋ] *bāŋ*, but [bɑ̱:ŋˈgʊʃ] *bāŋguš*

§ **25.** *k*, *g*, and *ŋ* are all strongly palatalized by a following front vowel or the semi-vowel *y*, thus:

kē [cˈɛ:] *gøz* [ɟœ̱ɛz] *r̄aŋē* [ˈraŋ̇ˈɛ·] (not [ˈraɲɛ·])

In the case of *k*, *g* this leads, but very rarely, to a vulgar pronunciation of *k*(*y*), *g*(*y*) as affricates approaching [tʃ, dʒ].

§ **26.** *x* is a voiceless, velar fricative [x].

§ **27.** *γ* is the corresponding voiced, velar fricative [γ]. It occurs comparatively rarely.

Post-velar

§ **28.** *q* is a voiceless, uvular plosive [q]. It is not normally aspirated except before *u*.

§ **29.** *ẖ* is a voiceless, pharyngal fricative [ħ].

§ **30.** ʿ is a voiced, pharyngal fricative [ʕ], less tense than the corresponding Ar. ع.

§ **31.** Both *ẖ* and ʿ appear in Kd. words in place of etymological *h* and [ʔ] (*v.* § 33). The incidence of *ẖ* is regular, e.g.

ẖawt 'seven' *ẖīz* 'lecher'

but ʿ alternates almost freely with [ʔ], especially in initial position, e.g.

āsmān ~ *ʿāsmān* 'heaven' *am*(*m*)*ār* ~ *ʿamār* 'granary'

and in words of Ar. origin,

amr ~ *ʿamr* 'order; age' *qurʾān* ~ *qurʿān* 'Coran'

§ **32.** *h* is a voiceless, glottal fricative, a full aspirate [h].

§ **33.** (*a*) [ʔ], the glottal stop, occurs only in initial position before vowels, under the following conditions:

(i) Following a pause, or a final vowel, an initial vowel other than *ē* (*v.* § 43) is normally preceded by [ʔ]. The modal prefix

a- (*v.* § 206 (*a*)), however, is generally only so preceded after a pause. Thus:

bō aw [bǫː ˈʔaʊ̯], but *bō aykay* [ˈbǫː ɐjkʻɐj]

(ii) Following a final consonant, the conjunction *ū* 'and', the Izafe *ī* (*v.* § 183), and the prepositions *baraw*, *la*, an initial vowel is generally not preceded by [ʔ]. The appearance of the glottal stop in these contexts indicates 'careful' or 'emphatic' speech.

The glottal stop does not occur intervocalically, even at a morpheme juncture, thus:

ahāt [ʔaˈhaːtʻ], but *naahāt* [ˈnaaˌhaːtʻ][1]

(*b*) The glottal stop is thus not a distinguishing feature of any utterance and cannot be considered as a consonant phoneme of Kurdish. It does occur, however, in a few unassimilated loan-words from Arabic, and is then written as ʾ, e.g.

suʾāl 'question', beside *swāl* 'begging'

Semi-vowels

§ 34. *w* is a bilabial (back) frictionless continuant [w]. When it is followed by a front vowel there is a slight fronting of the tongue, giving [ẇ > ɥ].

§ 35. (*a*) *y* is a palatal (front) frictionless continuant [j].

(*b*) Between vowels the realization of *y* is sometimes almost imperceptible, e.g. *-āya-* [-aːʲɐ-], particularly in the contexts *ī*, *ē*, *ø–y–a*, *ā*, e.g.

kursīyak [kʻʊrˈsiːɐkʻ]	*dīyān* [ˈdiːaːn] (*v.* § 60)
dēyak [ˈdeːakʻ]	*lēyān* [ˈlɛːaːn]
gøyak [ˈgœɐ̯akʻ]	*gøyān* [gœɐ̯ˈaːn]

§ 36. Many speakers regularly substitute the group *wē* for *yō* in initial or medial position, e.g.

yōnān > *wēnān* 'Greece'	*bālyōz* > *bālwēz* 'ambassador'
milyōn > *milwēn* 'million'	*qarawēla* < Tk. *karyola* 'bed'
tanturwēt < Fr. 'teinture (d')iode'	

[1] The Sul. Kd. orthography has ئ before all vowels in initial position, and even medially, thus ئاش, ئەهات, ئەئەهات, rather than ئاش, اهات, ئەاهات. This seems to be an unnecessarily misleading adaptation of the Ar. script.

The group *wē, of other origin*, may alternate with *ø* in certain contexts (*v* § 44 (*b*)).

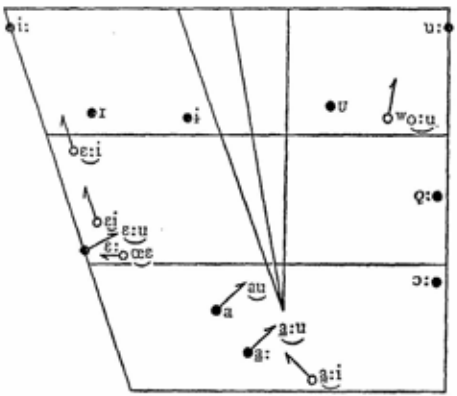
§ 37. [ə], an allophone of *t* and *d* (*v.* §§ 7, 8), is a half-close, central continuant, accompanied by a raising of the tip of the tongue towards the position of realization of a dental stop.

Vowels

§ 38. (*a*) Of the nine vowel phonemes three, *a, i, u*, are 'short'. *i* (*v.* § 41 (*c*)) is particularly unstable.

(*b*) The phoneme *ø* is exceptional, being realized as a diphthong (*v.* § 44). The remaining 'long' vowels, *ī, ē, ā, ō, ū*, are normally stable, but may be shortened in final, unstressed position. Only in the case of *ā* is there any possibility of confusion with another phoneme, viz. *a*.

§ 39.



§ 40. *ī* is a very close, front vowel [i:], or shorter [i·] in final, unstressed position. In unstressed position preceding another vowel it may be reduced to [j], e.g.

xistïa bāxalī [ˌxist'jɛ bɑ:ˈxali·]

§ 41. *i* has two normal allophones, and may also alternate with zero.

(*a*) In initial position in a word[1] or syllable, or in contact with the semi-vowel *y*, it is a half-close, front vowel [ɪ] (*v.* § 60), e.g.

išt [ɪʃtʿ] *āsāišt* [a̲:sa̲:ˈɪʃtʿ]

(*b*) In medial[2] or final position in the syllable it is a half-close, front-central [i], varying somewhat in position according to the following consonant, e.g.

pišt [pʿiʃtʿ] *nāwi* [ˈna̲:wi̲]

(*c*) In unstressed position between two consonants *i* is generally not realized, provided that no impermissible consonant group is thereby caused (*v.* § 56). Thus, compare

bikam [ˈbikʿam]	:	*čī bikam* [ˈtʃi: b̥kʿam]
birdin [birˈdin]	:	*birdinawa* [ˌbirdnaˈwa]
dasim [ˈdasim]	:	*dasima* [ˈdasma]
dīwim [ˈdi:wim]	:	*dīwimī* [ˈdi:u̯mi·]
nārdi(t) [ˈna̲:ɾdi(t)]	:	*nārditī* [ˈna̲:ɾdti·]

§ 42. The instability of the phoneme *i* raises an important problem of orthography. A large number of words appear to have initial groups of two consonants (*v.* § 56 (*a*)). When these words are subject to a change of stress, however, they are frequently seen to contain a phoneme *i*, not normally realized, e.g.

birā [bɾa̲:], but [ˈbiɾa̲·] 'O brother!' (*v.* § 181 (*a*))

šitin [ʃtʿin] 'to wash', but *dasi(t) šit* [ˌdasi ˈʃitʿ] 'have you washed your hands?';

from *biřīn* [bri:n] 'to cut', *aybiřim* [a̲jbˈrim] 'I cut it', but *qalambiř* [qałamˈbir] 'penknife' (*v.* § 253 (*a*) (ii)).

To most sophisticated Kurds the theoretically polysyllabic nature of such words as **dirēž, kirān, pilāw, sipī*, &c., is evident, despite the regular realization as [dɾɛ:ʒ, kɾa̲:n, pɬa̲:u̯, spʿi:], &c.[3] This

[1] The sole recorded exception is the word *inja* [ˈindʒa·], more commonly [ˈɲdʒa·].

[2] The only exception recorded is the word *linj* [lɪndʒ].

[3] An application of this is to be found in the prosodic value of such

analysis has, accordingly, been accepted in this work wherever appropriate.

§ **43.** *ē* is a half-open, front vowel [ɛ:] (or shorter [ɛ·] in final unstressed position) except in the diphthong [ɛ̯:i], where it approaches a half-close [e:]. In initial or postvocalic position it is preceded by a fleeting anticipatory raising of the tongue, giving [ʲɛ:], e.g.

ēm [ʲɛ:m] *aēšā* [aʲɛ:ˈʃa̱:]

The same occurs following *p*, e.g. *pē* [pʲʲɛ:], while a preceding velar stop or nasal is palatalized (*v.* § 25).

§ **44.** (*a*) *ø* is a diphthong [œɛ], i.e. formed by the progressive unrounding of the lips while the tongue remains in the half-open, front position. Sometimes it is a falling [ˈœ̯ɛ], sometimes a rising [œ̯ʲɛ] diphthong. Usually a speaker will realize the diphthong in one way only, but occasionally both forms may be heard from the one person.

(*b*) [œɛ] is here considered as a single vowel phoneme, since [œ] never occurs independently of [ɛ] and the diphthong always appears in a single syllable. In Kd. orthography the vowel is, inevitably, generally written ۆێ, and has at times been transliterated as *wē*. *ø*, unlike *wē*, never appears in initial position, while both may appear in medial position (*v.* § 36), e.g.

wērān, *bālwēz*, *bilør*

Final *ø* is distinguished from *ē* by the suffixes *-aka*, *-awa* (*v.* § 171 (*c*)), e.g.

dē+-aká > *dēká* *gø+-aká* > *gøyaká*
dønē+-awa > *dønēwa* *kø+-awa* > *køyawa*

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words. In both metrical and syllabic verse the *i*-syllable seems more often to be counted present than absent. For example:

– ⏑ – – | – ⏑ – – | – ⏑ – – | – ⏑ –,
Zōr kar̄at hānim adā dāxī darūnī pir̄-gir̄im,
bōtī hal r̄ēžim sikālāy nāsikī garm ū gur̄im;
dāxaham, kātē ka ēma bardamit wāqī wur̄im
wām ašēwēnē ba jōrē nāyalē hič dar bir̄im.

Hardī.

Decasyllabic,

La žēr mēzarā malāy nūstāwa *r̄iš bū sar siŋ par̄ ū bilāwa*
qiyāfat par̄pūt wak hitēbī kōn *zimānī šīrīn, sīmāy naxtē mōn*

Gōrān.

Corresponding to *-(i)wē-* [ɥɛː] the realization [œɛ] is normally heard in Sul., e.g.

n(i)wēž [nɥɛːʒ] > *nøž* [nœɛʒ]

cf. *finēw* [dʒinɛːu] > **fiwēn* > *føn* [dʒœɛn]

The converse is not, however, true. Thus

gøz [ɟœɛz] nowhere appears as [ɟɥɛːz] **g(i)wēz*

ø has, therefore, an identity distinct from *wē*.

§ 45. *a* has two allophones. Normally it is an open, front-central vowel [a]. In contact with *ī* or *y* it is a half-open, front vowel [ɛ], more close preceding[1] and more open following *ī*, *y*, e.g.

yak [jɛkʻ] *gaīn* [gɛˑiːn]

§ 46. (*a*) *ā* is an open, front-central vowel [aː], slightly more open and back than the corresponding short *a*. Preceding *l*, *y*, it is even more open and back. In final, unstressed position, as [a], it may be confused with *a*.

(*b*) *ā* has the effect of appreciably deaspirating a preceding voiceless stop, *p*, *t*, or *k*, e.g.

[pʻɛːʃ] : [paːʃ]

§ 47. (*a*) *ō* is normally a medium, back vowel [ǫː] (or [ǫˑ] in final unstressed position) with two other allophones.

(*b*) It appears before *r*, *r̄*, as a half-open, back vowel [ɔː].

(*c*) Followed in the same syllable by *w* it is closer, and preceded by a fleeting anticipatory lip-rounding, giving [ʷǫːu], e.g.
tōw [tʻʷǫːu]

§ 48. *u* is invariably a half-close, back-central vowel [u].

§ 49. *ū* is a close, back vowel [uː]. In unstressed position preceding another vowel it may be realized as [w], e.g.

kirdim ū aykamawa [ˌkʻɪrdimwɐjkʻamaˈwa]

[1] The realization [ɛ] is somewhat more close even than the normal realization of *ē*, but in the same context *ē* is much closer [ɐː(j)] (*v.* § 43).

Diphthongs

§ 50. There are three classes of diphthongs in the Sul. dialect, namely those ending in:

(i) a close, front vowel [ɛ̯i, œ̯i, e̯, a̯i, o̯i, u̯i]
(ii) a close, back vowel [i̯u, ɛ̯u, œ̯u, a̯u, a̯u, o̯u]
(iii) a half-close, central [ə], [i̯ə, i̯ə, ɛ̯ə, a̯ə, a̯ə, o̯ə, u̯ə]

§ 51. Class (i). When these diphthongs are followed by another vowel their syllabic character is destroyed, e.g.

[ˌla̯i ˈmin], but [ˈla̯ːʲɛkʻ]

Thus they cannot be regarded as single phonemes.

[ɛ̯i, a̯i], &c., are to be clearly distinguished from [ɛːʲi:, aːʲi:], &c., e.g.

[mɛ̯i] 'wine'	[mɛːʲi:] 'it congealed'
[ma̯in] 'we stayed'	[maːʲi:n] 'mare'

Thus the second element of the diphthong cannot conveniently be regarded as a realization of *ī*. It must rather be considered as representing the semi-vowel *y*. Class (i) is then reducible to the groups *ēy* (*v.* § 43), *øy*, *ay* (*v.* § 45), *āy* (*v.* § 46), *ōy*, and *ūy*.

§ 52. Class (ii). As with class (i) a following vowel destroys the syllabic character of these diphthongs, e.g.

[a̯u], but [ˈa̯ːẇɛːkʻ]

On the analogy of class (i) it is convenient to consider these diphthongs as phoneme groups with *w* as the second member, thus *ēw*, *ēw*, *øw*, *aw*, *āw*, and *ōw* (*v.* § 47 (*c*)).

§ 53. [ə] occurring only as an allophone of *t* or *d* (*v.* §§ 7, 8) the diphthongs of class (iii) represent *īt*, *it*, *ēt*, *at* or *ad*, *āt* or *ād*, *ōt*, and *ūt*.

Distribution of Phonemes

Consonants

§ 54. (*a*) The following oppositions show that all consonants, except *l*, *y*, *r*, *v*, appear and preserve their identity in initial position in the word.

All consonants occur individually in medial and final position, with the exception of ', though stops, particularly voiced stops, are far less common than continuants in final, postvocalic position.

p : *b* : *f* : *v* : *m* : *w*

pē 'foot' : *bē* 'without', *bā* 'wind' : *fē* 'paroxysm, fit' : *mē* 'ewe', *mā* 'remained' : *wā* 'thus'. *pilāw* 'pilaff' : *bilāw* 'spread' : *filān* 'such-and-such' : *wilāt* 'country'.

hapá 'peg' : *'abá* 'Abdullah' : *xafát* 'grief' : *giv(v)á* 'whirring' : *ama* 'this' : *awa* 'that'. *kapr* 'bower' : *zabr* 'power' : *bafr* 'snow' : *amr* 'life; order' : *hawr* 'cloud'.

qāp 'plate' : *ǰwāb* 'answer' : *qāf* 'Q, "call-up" ' : *wām* 'debt' : *āw* 'water'. *kīf* 'bag' : *gīv* 'crouching position'. *qap* 'bite' : *kaf* 'palm of the hand' : *čam* 'stream' : *kaw* 'partridge'.

t : *d* : *s* : *z* : *n*

tāw 'power' : *dāw* 'snare' : *zāw* 'having borne, milch' : *nāw* 'name'. *dēw* 'demon', *dīw* 'side' : *sēw* 'apple' : *zīw* 'silver' : *nīw* 'half'. *tirē* 'grapes' : *dirēž* 'long' : *sirēš* 'glue' : *zirē* 'chain armour, zip-fastener' : *dā nirē* 'be put down'.

pōtalák 'crest' : *hōdá* 'room' : *kōsá* 'beardless; swindler' : *gōzá* 'pitcher' : *sōná* 'duck'. *rātú* 'student's pension' : *ǰādú* 'magic' : *parāsú* 'ribs' : *tarāzú* 'balance' : *ǰwānú* 'foal'.

lat 'fragment' : *bad* 'bad' : *bas* 'enough' : *baz* 'suet' : *tan* 'body'. *part* 'scattered' : *bard* 'stone' : *tars* 'dung' : *barz* 'high' : *qarn* 'century'.

s : *z* : *š* : *ž*

sē '3' : *zē* 'river, Zab' : *šē* 'dampness' : *žē* 'bowstring'. *sīn* 'S' : *zīn* 'saddle' : *šīn* 'blue; lament' : *žīn* 'life'. *syāŋzá* '13' : *šāŋzá* '16' : *šyāká* 'dung'. *zyān* 'loss' : *žān* 'pain' : *žyān* 'to live'.

hasār 'wall' : *hazār* '1,000' : *hašār* 'camouflaged hide' : *hažār* 'wretched'. *tāsá* 'pang' : *tāzá* 'fresh' : *lāšá* 'corpse', *wāšá* 'hawk' : *wāžá* 'buzzing'.

tirs 'fear' : *dirz* 'split' : *tirš* 'sour' : *girž* 'sullen'.

š : *ž* : *č* : *ǰ* (: *y*)

šān 'shoulder' : *žān* 'pain', *žīn* 'life' : *čīn* 'fold' : *čūn* 'they went' : *ǰūn* 'to chew' : *yān* 'or'. *šwān* 'shepherd' : *žwān* 'tryst' : *čwār* '4' : *ǰwān* 'beautiful'.

pāšú 'hind', *pēšú* 'former' : *qāžú* 'jackdaw' : *bēčú* 'young of animal' : *bāǰí* 'elder sister'. *xānčí* 'innkeeper' : *tānǰí* 'greyhound'. *čašn* 'sort' : *ǰažn* 'celebration'.

gaš 'shining' : *gač* 'lime' : *xaǰ* 'Khadije'. *bāš* 'good', *bōš* 'empty' : *r̄ōž* 'day; sun' : *pāč* 'pickaxe' : *bāǰ* 'tax'. *farš* 'carpet' : *wurč* 'bear' : *marǰ* 'bet'.

č : *ǰ* : *k* : *g* : *q*

čō 'go!' : *ǰō* 'barley' : *kō* 'mass', *kōč* 'march' : *gō* 'ball' : *qōč* 'horn'. *ǰīr̄* 'elastic, tough' : *gīr* 'tenacious' : *qīr* 'pitch'. *čwār* '4' : *ǰwān* 'beautiful' : *kwā* 'where is?' : *gwān* 'udder'. *ǰyā* 'separate' : *gyān* 'soul'.

qōčaqānī́ 'sling' : *kilōǰá* 'manner' : *lōká* 'cotton' : *kōgá* 'store' : *lōqá* 'trot'.

pāč 'pickaxe' : *bāǰ* 'tax' : *pāk* 'clean' : *lāq* 'leg'. *parč* 'curve' : *marǰ* 'bet' : *ark* 'work' : *ǰarg* 'liver' : *farq* 'difference'.

k : *g* : *x* : *γ* : *ŋ*

kā 'straw', *kō* 'mass' : *gā* 'ox', *gō* 'ball' : *xō* 'self' : *γār* 'gallop'. *kar̄* 'deaf', *kaw* 'partridge' : *gar̄* 'mangy' : *xaw* 'sleep'. *kwā* 'where is?' : *gwārá* 'earring' : *xwā* 'God'.

akā́ 'does' : *agā́* 'reaches' : *axā́* 'throws'. *bēkā́r* 'bachelor' : *bēgā́r* 'corvée' : *zūxā́w* 'pus' : *liγā́w* 'bridle' : *haŋā́w* 'pace'.

bāk 'fear' : *bāx* 'garden' : *sāγ* 'well' : *bāŋ* 'call'. *tūk* 'hair' : *dūg* 'sheep's fat tail' : *dūx* 'spindle'.

x : *γ* : *ẖ* : ʻ : *h*

xāl 'mole' : *γār* 'gallop' : *ẖāl* 'condition'. *xafát* 'grief' : *ẖapá* 'barking' : *ʻabá* 'Abdullah' : *hapá* 'peg'.

axám 'I throw' : *laγám* 'tunnel' : *r̄aẖatī́* 'funnel' : *bahášt* 'heaven'.

šōx 'pretty' : *r̄ōẖ* 'spirit', *lawẖ* 'tablet' : *nawʻ* 'sort'. *nirx* 'price' : *bilẖ* 'lazy'.

m : *n* : *ŋ* (but see §§ 12 (*b*), 24 (*c*))

māl 'house' : *nāl* 'horseshoe'. *málē* 'do not say!' : *nálē* 'he should not say'.

māmá 'the uncle' : *mānā́* 'meaning' : *māŋā́* 'cow'. *dāmá* 'draughts' : *dānā́* 'grain'.

tam 'mist' : *tan* 'body' : *taŋ* 'tight'. *mām* 'uncle' : *mān* 'resentment' : *māŋ* 'moon'.

l : *l̄* : *r* : *r̄*

lē 'from it' : *r̄ē* 'road'. *lūt* 'nose' : *r̄ūt* 'naked'.

palá 'haste' : *paɫá* 'stain' : *pará* 'increase' : *par̄á* 'page'. *kōɫā́n* 'street' : *gōrā́n* 'peasant' : *gōr̄ā́n* 'to change'.

gil 'pain' : *gil* 'clay', *dił* 'heart' : *dir* 'fierce'. *kal* 'chipped' : *kał* 'ox' : *kar* 'donkey' : *kaɾ* 'deaf'.

(*b*) There is some occasional alternation of similar consonants, e.g.

s : *z*. *zig* ~ *zik* ~ *sik* 'stomach' (*v.* § 172 (*d*)). *zij* ~ *sič* 'tick'. *wariz* ~ *waris* 'angry'.

k : *q*. *kīn* ~ *qīn* 'hate'. *lik* ~ *liq* 'branch'. *rik* ~ *riq* 'anger'.

x : *γ*. *xam* ~ *γam* 'sorrow'. *čōxá* ~ *čōγá* 'homespun jacket'. *čix* ~ *čiγ* 'reed screen'.

' : '. (')*amr* 'life; order'. (')*āsmán* 'heaven'. (')*amár* 'granary' (*v.* § 31).

n : *ŋ*. *mindł* ~ *miŋdł* 'child'. *ban* ~ *baŋ* 'tied' (*v.* § 57 (*a*)).

Vowels

§ 55. (*a*) *ø* alone of the vowel phonemes does not appear in initial position (*v.* § 44 (*b*)). *i* and *u* are rare in this position and appear in final position in only one instance (*v.* § 197 (*a*), note 2). Otherwise the vowels preserve their identity in most positions, as the following oppositions indicate:

ī : *ē* : *ø* : *ā* : *ō* : *ū*

īš 'work' : ēš 'pain' : āš 'mill' : ūč 'nib'. *ēstá* 'now' : *ōstá* 'master'.

pīr 'old', *žīr* 'clever' : *žēr* 'under' : *zør* 'sad' : *pūr* 'last year', *zāɾ* 'a die' : *zōr* 'much, very' : *pūr* 'aunt', *zūr* 'rough'.

bī 'willow' : *bē* 'without', *kē* 'who?' : *kø* 'where?' : *bā* 'wind', *kā* 'straw' : *bō* 'for', *kō* 'mass' : *bū* 'was'.

i : *a* : *u*

piɾ 'full' : *paɾ* 'feather', *kaɾ* 'deaf' : *kuɾ* 'boy'. *kird* 'did' : *kart* 'piece' : *kurd* 'Kurd', *kurt* 'short' (*v.* (*b*) below).

Long vowel : *short* (*ī* : *i*, &c.)

pīr 'old' : *piɾ* 'full'. *dīl* 'prisoner' : *dil* 'heart'. *náwī* 'his name' : *náwi* 'thy name'.

kērd 'knife' : *kird* 'did'.

āw 'water' : *aw* 'he'. *bāš* 'good' : *baš* 'portion'. *malá* 'mullah' : *malá* 'swimming'.[1]

qōz 'dandy' : *quz* 'vulva'.

dūr 'far' : *duɾ* 'pearl'. *kūɾ* 'declivity' : *kuɾ* 'boy'.

[1] A few words have alternative forms, ending in stressed *á* or *a*, e.g. *éstá* = *éstá* 'now', *řēgá* = *řēgá* 'road'.

Long vowel : diphthong (ē : ay, ō : aw)

tēr 'satiated' : *tayr* 'bird'. *mē* 'ewe' : *may* 'wine'.

hōr 'sack' : *hawr* 'cloud'. *kō* 'mass' : *kaw* 'partridge'.

(*b*) The distinction between *i* : *u* is neutralized in contact with *w*, or in proximity to a back vowel, e.g.

wirč = *wurč* 'bear', *āwíŋ* = *āwúŋ* 'dew', *biřō* = [ˈbuɾo·]

'go!', *biwērē* = **buwērē* [ˈbuːɛːɾɛ·] (*v.* § 60)

That between *ī* : *i* is to some extent lost in initial position, e.g.

isrāḫat [ɪsɾaːˈɦatˈ] = *īsrāḫat* [iːsɾaːˈɦatˈ] 'rest'

Regarding the distinction between *i* : *ī*, *u* : *ū* see also § 60.

Consonant groups

§ 56. (*a*) Initial groups of two consonants are common in Sul., some eighty being recorded. Those having *w* or *y* as the second element are stable, e.g.

čwār, *gyān*, *ǰyā*, *pwāz*, *pyāw*, *šwān*, *xwā*

The remainder are mostly to be considered as the result of secondary contact, caused by the non-realization of an unstressed *i* (*v.* § 42). They fall into two groups, viz. those having *l*, *ļ*, *r*, or *ř* as the second element, e.g.

gilān [glaːn] *pilāw* [plaːu] *girān* [graːn] *fířē* [fɾɛː]

and those with an initial sibilant or affricate, e.g.

čilāw [tʃlaːu] *simēl* [smɛːɬ] *šitin* [ʃtʻin] *zimān* [zmaːn]

Possible exceptions in this class are the groups *st-*, *šk-*, which seem more stable.

No group of three or more consonants is permissible in initial position (cf. § 19).

(*b*) In medial position practically any two-consonant group containing a continuant or affricate (*v.* § 19) is tolerated. The only groups of two plosives recorded are *bd*, *gb*, *kt*, *pk*, *pq*, *tk*, *tq*. The only primary geminate groups in Kd. words are *ll*, *ļļ*, *mm*, *nn*, and rarely *vv*.

Groups of three consonants are rare, even in secondary contact. They are all of the pattern *l*, *r*, *s* + C + C, where rarely more than one of the consonants C is a plosive.

(*c*) Groups of no more than two consonants may occur in final position. Some forty are recorded, the commonest being

l+*ḫ*, *k*, *m*, *q*; *l*+*b*, *f*, *k*, *m*, *p*; *nǰ*; *r*+*č*, *d*, *g*, *ǰ*, *k*, *m*, *s*, *š*, *t*, *x*, *z*, *ž*; *r̄*+*k*, *t*; *s*+*k*, *m*, *p*, *q*, *t*; *š*+*k*, *m*, *n*, *t*; *xt*; *zm*; *žd*+*d*, *m*, *n*.

Some speakers, however, appear to be less able than others to realize even these groups in final position. Thus both [ʔaspʿ] and [ˈʔasⁱpʿ] *asp* are heard. This mainly affects loanwords from Ar., ending in a consonant group tolerated in medial but not generally in final position. In the latter case an *unstressed, non-phonemic* [i] is realized between the consonants of the group, e.g.

xalq [ˈxalⁱq]
xalq bāŋī akā [ˌxalⁱq ˈbaːŋʲɛːkaˑ], but
xalqī køy [ˌxalqiˑˈkʿœ͡ɛj]

This vowel is not expressed as a phoneme, in contrast to a phonemic *i*, realized in final but not necessarily in unstressed medial position (*v.* § 41 (*c*)), e.g.

ba āsik [ba ʔaːˈsikʿ] *am āsikāna* [ʔam ˌaːskaːˈna]
hamū šit [haˈmuːʃitʿ] *hamū šitēk* [haˈmuːʃtʿɛːkʿ]

§ 57. (*a*) The group *nd*, formed by morpheme juncture, is normally realized as [nn] (*v.* § 8 (*c*)). Otherwise the normal correspondence to the group *nd* of other dialects is Sul. *n* or *ŋ*, less frequently *nn*, e.g.

ban, *baŋ* : *band*, *diřiŋa* : *diřinda*, *faŋ* : *fand*
māŋū : *māndū*, *mināl*, *miŋāl* : *mindāl*, *škānin* : *škāndin*,

but *bannaxøn* : *bandaxøn*.

(*b*) The group *st* is normally stable in Sul.,[1] e.g.

bist, *bista*, *dōst*, *dāristān*, &c.

and may even be introduced by analogy, e.g.

qastam < Ar. *qasam* 'oath', *maqast* < Ar. *miqaṣṣ* 'scissors'

Certain words, however, with the group *st* in final position, have alternative forms in *s*, e.g.

bīs(*t*), *das*(*t*), *kōs*(*t*), &c.

[1] But note the reduction of the heavy secondary group in *hal stān* > *hal sān* or *hastān*.

The group normally loses the *t* when it is followed by another consonant and if this be voiced then the *s* is also voiced,[1] e.g.

das(t) nākawē [daz ˈna̱:kʻawɛ·]

cf. *dasgā* [dazˈga̱:] *dasgīrān* [dazgi:ˈɾa̱:n]

In one case the vowel is lengthened in compensation, viz.

dirust (*kird*, &c) [dɾu:s (ˈkʻiɾd)]

Vowel groups

§ 58. A feature of the Sul. dialect is the frequency of uninterrupted vowel groups, usually of a secondary nature, e.g.

āsāiš [a̱:sa̱:ˈɪʃ] (*v.* § 41 (*a*)) *min* ū aw [minu·ˈa̱u̯] (*v.* § 33 (*a*))
wā akay [ˈwa̱:akʻɛ̯j] *law daštaā* [la̱u̯ daʃˈtʻaa̱·]

With the presence of a semi-vowel longer groups of frictionless continuants may arise, e.g.

lēy adā [ˈlɛ:ja̱ɹa̱:, ˈlɛ:ˈja̱a̱:]
nērīnat̰ adā*tē* [nɛ:ɾi:n̩a̱ə aə̱a̱:ˈtɛ:]

Such groups may, however, be contracted, e.g.

ba nāw am šāraā > . . . *am šārā*

§ 59. (*a*) In unstressed position the distinction between [jɛ̨] *-ya-*, *-īa-* and [ˈɛ:] *-ē-* appears to be lost. The former is generally perceived as the latter, e.g.

kursīaká [kʻuɾsjɛ̨ˈkʻa] > *kursēká* [kʻuɾsɛ:ˈkʻa]
ažnṓyawa [aʒˈnǫ:jɛ̨wa] > *ažnṓēwa* [aʒˈnǫ:ɛ:wa]
intīzā́rī akan [ɪntʻi:ˈza̱:ɾɛ:kʻan]

Note, *yawāš* [jɛ̨ˈwa̱:ʃ] > *hēwāš* [hɛ:ˈwa̱:ʃ].
But following *ā* the reverse is the case, e.g.

nāēm [ˈna̱:ˈɛ:m] > *nāyam* [ˈna̱:jɛ̨m]

nadāē [ˈnaə̱a̱:ˈɛ·] > *n(ad)āya* [ˈna̱:jɛ̨]

(*b*) The distinction between [wa] *-wa-*, [u:a] *-ūa-*, *-uwa-*, and [ǫ:] *-ō-* is frequently lost, even in stressed position. They are generally perceived as *-ō-*, e.g.

ōrdūaká [ɔ:ɾdwaˈkʻa] > *ōrdōká* [ɔ:ɾdǫ:ˈkʻa]
hātúwata . . . [ha̱:ˌtʻu:ata] > *hātṓta* . . . [ha̱:ˌtʻǫ:ta]

[1] Note the phrase, *rāst akay* [ˈɾa̱:zakʻɛi] 'You are right'.

Note, Ar. *muwaffáq* > *mōfáq*.
Conversely,

xōyān [ˈxǫ:jạ:n] > *xwayān* [ˈxwɐjạ:n]

Note, *ōstā* ~ *wastā* 'master craftsman'.

§ 60. When a close vowel is followed by a related semi-vowel any distinction of length is lost in the realization. Thus *-iy-*, *-ɨy-*, (*-iyy-*) are realized as [i:], e.g.

biygira [ˈbi:gɾa] *biyāngira* [ˈbi:ạ:ŋgʲˌɾa]
čīyt [tʃi:t] *dīyān* [ˈdi:ạ:n]
pirsīy [pʿɪɾˈsi:] *kursīyak* [kʿʊɾˈsi:ɐkʿ]
Ar. *niyyat* > *nīyat* (*nīat*) [ni:ˈɐtʿ]

Similarly [u:] may represent, beside *ū*, the groups *-uw-* and *-ūw-* (*-uww-*), e.g.

biwērē > **buwērē* [ˈbu:ɛ:ɾɛ·] (*v.* § 55 (*b*))
būwim [ˈbu:ʷm] *čūwīt-* [ˈtʃu:i:t]
Ar. *quwwat* > *qūwat* (*qūat*) [qu:ˈatʿ]

WĀRMĀWA DIALECT

Phonemic System

§ 61. The War. dialect has the same phonemic system as the Sul. dialect (*v.* § 1). The realizations of a number of phonemes are, however, different. For comparison, therefore, following each paragraph number that of the corresponding paragraph of the Sul. section is given in parentheses.

Consonants

b, d, g

§ 62 (§ 3). In postvocalic position *b* coincides with *w* (*v.* § 67), e.g.

**ǰwāb* [dʒwạ:u], **qabrisān* [qạʊɾsạ:n], **aybam* [ɐjwam]
**aybīnim* [ɐjɪi:nim], **āfrāsyāb* [ạ:fɾạ:sjạ:u]
**taybāt* [tʿɐjwạ:tʿ] < Ar. *ṭabīʿat*, **qubūlī* [qu:ɬi:]

§ 63 (§ 8). *d* has the same realizations in medial and final positions

as Sul. *d*, viz. [ɻ], &c., with the exception that it does not appear to be assimilated regularly by preceding *ī*, *y*, *m*, &c., e.g.

sad [saɻ], *badan* [baɻan], *hōda* [hǫ:ɻa]
aydam [ɛjɻam], *bimdarē* [bimɻarɛ·]

but [mɛj'jɻ:n] *mayyān*

§ 64 (§ 23). *g*. In intervocalic position and following *n*, *r*, *y*, *z*, the phoneme *g* appears as a voiced, frictionless continuant. The blade of the tongue approaches, but does not touch, the velum in the position of [g], producing IPA [ɯ] with the lips in neutral position. This will be written [ğ]. Following a vowel in a closed syllable the same sound forms a series of diphthongs [ağ], &c., analogous to class (iii) (§ 50), e.g.

**āgir* [a:ğiɾ], **digān* [diğa:n], **sag* [sağ]
**aygirim* [ɛjğrim], **bagzāda* [bağza:ɻa]
**āsingar* [a:siŋğaɾ], **dargā* [daɾğa:]
**mērg* [mɛ:ɾğ], **nizgara* [nizğara]

In the same contexts *g* occasionally disappears, e.g.

**lagal* [lağal] > *lēl* [lɛ:l], *a(g)īnā* [ɛjna]
miz(g)awt [mizaɯt']

§ 65. These developments do not in themselves alter the phonemic system, i.e. from the phonemic writing *b*, *d*, *g*, the medial, continuant realizations [w, ɻ, ğ] would still be predictable. The case is altered, however, by the irregular occurrence of loanwords, be it from spoken Arabic or the dominant Sul. dialect, with intervocalic voiced plosives. The resulting confusion is well exemplified in the following sentences:

[aɥɛ: baɻali bǫ: bidam. qabu:ɬim ni:ɛ]
**abē badali bō bidam. qabūlim nīa*

In certain verbal stems, moreover, the intervocalic continuant occurring in certain forms has been introduced into initial position, e.g.

wastī (Sul. *bastī*) after *aywast* (Sul. *aybast*)

Clearly, to preserve the predictability of the actual realization it is necessary to indicate in phonemic writing the incidence of either plosive or continuant allophones of *b*, *d*, *g*. Since a phoneme

w already exists it is only necessary to mark the variant realizations [ə, ᵊ] as *ḏ* and [ğ] as *ğ*, e.g.

ǰwāw, aywīnim, taywāt, qawrisān, but *qūlī* (cf. § 62)
baḏan, ayḏam, bimḏarē (cf. § 63)
āğir, bağzāḏa, mērğ, but *aynā, mizawt* (cf. § 64)

t

§ 66 (§ 7). (*a*) When *t* occurs in final position, i.e. in pause or followed by another consonant, and is preceded by *a, ā*, it is realized as [ə], forming the diphthongs [aə̯, aːə̯], e.g.

hātim [haːtʿim] but *hāt* [haːə̯], *kaṙat* [karaə̯] Ar. *karrat*

(*b*) When *t* is preceded by the diphthong *aw* it is not realized in final position, e.g.

kawtim [kʿaʊtʿim] but *kawt* [kʿaʊ̯], *ḫawt* [ħaʊ̯]

(*c*) As in § 65, these developments do not in themselves alter the phonemic system, since the spellings *hāt, kawt*, &c., would still indicate the realizations [haːə̯, kʿaʊ̯], &c., but the irregular occurrence of Sul. dialect forms, such as [haːtʿ, kʿaʊtʿ], requires that the proper War. forms be distinguished by writing *hāṯ, kaw(t)*, &c.

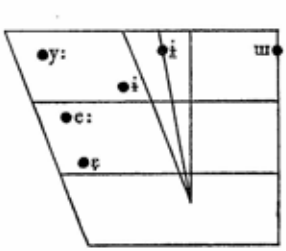
Semi-vowels

§ 67 (§ 34). *w* is palatalized by a following *y* or front vowel, giving [ɥ], e.g.

amawē biywīnim [amaɥẹː biːɥiːnim]

Vowels

§ 68 (§ 39)



§ **69** (§ 41). *i*. Before *ḏ*, *ǧ* (*v*. § 65) and *ṯ* (§ 7 (*c*)), *i* is more close than otherwise, i.e. it is a close, central vowel [i̯], e.g.

hātiǧim [ha̱:ˈtʻi̯ǧim], *bit̯kā* [bi̯ǧka̱·]

§ **70** (§ 43). *ē* is a half-close, front vowel [ę:], coinciding with the position of *ē* in the Sul. diphthong *ēy*, in all positions. The War. diphthong *ēy* normally has a slight anticipatory raising of the tongue, e.g.

*p*ēy [pʻʲę:i̯].

§ **71** (§ 45). *a*. Both before and after *ī*, *y* the phoneme *a* is realized as a medium, front vowel [ɛ̨], coinciding with the position of *a* in the Sul. diphthong *ay*, e.g.

*h*aya [hɛ̨jɛ̨], *ēm*aya [ę:mɛ̨jɛ̨]

§ **72** (§ 47). *ō*. The medium, back vowel [o:] is often preceded by an anticipatory lip-rounding, particularly following another vowel, e.g.

šōrdiǧma [ʃ(w)ɔ:ɾdi̯ǧma], *pēō* [pʻę:ʷǫ·]

§ **73** (§ 49). *ū* is sometimes palatalized by a following *y* or front vowel. The diphthong *ūy* is then realized as [y:i̯], or simply [y:], e.g.

aparmūytō [apʻaɾmy:i̯tǫ·].

Modifications

Consonant groups

§ **74** (§ 57). (*a*) The group *nd* of other dialects (Sul. *n* or *ŋ*) appears regularly as *n*, e.g.

[ma̱:niǧ] *māniǧ*	:	Sul. *māŋū*
[zi:na̱:n] *zīnān*	:	*zīŋān*
[tʃan] *čan*	:	*čan*, *čaŋ*

(*b*) Corresponding to the medial and final *st* of other dialects the realization *s* is normal in War., e.g.

[dasak'] *dasak*	:	Sul. *dastak*
[zu:sa̲:n] *zūsān*	:	*zistān*
[misafa̲:] *Misafā*	:	*Mistafā*

Note the analogical back-formation in

fōstgār < NP. *rōzgār*

Vowel groups

§ 75. The group *-iw(i)-* is sometimes contracted to [u:], e.g.

awim [aˈwʊm]	but	*biwim* [bu:m]
awiſī [a̲uˈri:]	but	*biwiſī* [ˈbu:ri·]

This [u:] is also palatalized by a following front vowel (*v.* § 73), e.g.

awēt [aˈɥe:t]	but	*biwēt* [ˈby:e:t]
awīt [aˈɥi:t]	but	*biwīt* [bu̲:jt, by̲:it, by:t]

§ 76. The group *iğ*, when followed by *ī*, *y*, is realized as [i:], e.g.

hātiğī [ha̲:ˈtʿi:ʲi:], *wutiğya* [wʊˈtʿi:(j)ɛ]

This is the only recorded occurrence of [i:i:] or [i:j] (cf. § 60).

Treatment of loanwords

§ 77. Loanwords from Arabic suffer a variety of changes, e.g.

laqam ? < Ar. *laqab* 'by-name' *da'b* < Ar. *daf'* 'repulsion'
talfī < Ar. *ṭifl* 'child'+*-ī*

There is considerable confusion between *ḥ* and *'*, e.g.

tamāḥ < Ar. *ṭama'*, *ṭamā'at* 'desire'
mawqīḥ < Ar. *mawqi'* 'place' *ma'b* < Ar. *maḥw* 'erasure'
even *furḥat* < Ar. *fur'at* 'courage'

Assimilation is common, particularly in the Ar. form *maf'ūl*, which yields a measure *mafmūl*, e.g.

maſmūr < Ar. *maſbūr* 'obliged'
maẓmūt < Ar. *maḍbūṭ* 'strong'
manmūn < Ar. *mamnūn* 'thankful'

BINGIRD AND PIŽDAR DIALECTS

Phonemic System

§ 78. The Bin., Piž. dialects have the following phonemic system of twenty-eight consonants (including two semi-vowels) and nine vowels:

p	*t*	*č*(*ć*)	*k*	*q*	
b	*d*	*ǰ*(*j*)	*g*		
f	*s*	*š*	*x*	*ḫ*	*h*
v	*z*	*ž*	*γ*	ʿ	(ʾ)
m	*n*				
	l	*ł*			
	r	*ř*			
w		*y*			

ī	*i*		*u*	*ū*
	ē	*ø*	*ō*	
		a	*ā*	

The only systemic difference from the Sul. dialect lies in the absence of a phoneme *ŋ* (*v.* § 81). There are, however, a number of differences in the phonetic realizations of certain phonemes.

Consonants

Dental

§ 79 (§ 7). *t* is a voiceless, aspirated dental plosive [tʿ] with the same unaspirated allophone [t] as in Sul. In no context is it either assimilated or lost, nor has it the allophone [ə].

§ 80 (§ 8). *d* is invariably realized as a voiced, unaspirated dental plosive [d].

§ 81 (§ 12). *n* has three allophones.

(*a*) Normally it is a voiced, dental nasal [n].

(*b*) Before a velar plosive it is realized as a voiced, velar nasal [ŋ]. This occurs only before a homorganic plosive and cannot be considered as a separate phoneme, e.g.

xinkāndī [xiŋˈkaːndi·], *dang* [daŋg]

Before a palatalized velar plosive (*v.* § 83) a voiced, palatal nasal [ɲ] occurs, e.g.

datxinkēnim [datxiɲˈcʻę:nim], *dangī* [ˈdaɲɟi·]

Palatal

§ **82** (§ 17). With some speakers *č*, *ǰ* are alveolo-palatal affricates [tɷ, dʒ]. For the same speakers the affricates [tʃ, dʒ] are palatalized allophones of *k*, *g* (*v.* § 83), there being no confusion between the two types.

The peculiarity is marked, as a mnemonic, by writing the phonemes *ć*, *j*.

Velar

§ **83** (§ 25). *k*, *g* are strongly palatalized by a following front vowel or the semi-vowel *y*. With some speakers this is carried to the extent of realizing, not [c, ɟ], but the affricates [tʃ, dʒ]. There is, however, no confusion with the phonemes *č*, *ǰ* (*v.* § 82).

Vowels

§ **84** (§ 43). *ē* is normally a half-close, front vowel [ę:], as in the War. dialect (*v.* § 70).

In final position following *ī*, *y* it is realized as a shorter and more open [ę·], i.e. approaching *a*, e.g.

swārīē [swą:rˈiˈję·]

§ **85** (§ 44). *ø* is commonly the rising diphthong [ęˈe]. With some speakers it is so close [ɥe] as to suggest an analysis as *wē*.

Diphthongs

§ **86.** The diphthongs of class (iii), ending in [ə], do not occur (*v.* §§ 50, 53).

Modifications

§ **87.** There appears to be some neutralization of the opposition *ay* : *ē* in final position (the former being perceived as the latter), despite the morphological confusion which may result (cf. Muk. § 7 (*b*) 1), e.g.

awē < **awa-y* *aw barē* < **bara-y* *baw īšē* < **īša-y*

§ 88. With certain Piž. speakers the *w* of class (ii) diphthongs is sufficiently consonantal in character to form an unpronounceable group with a following consonant group or final consonant. Accordingly an unstressed, non-phonemic [i] is realized after the semi-vowel (*v.* § 56 (*c*)), e.g.

kawt-bū [ˈkʿawⁱtʿbu:]

Consonant groups

§ 89 (§ 57). (*a*) The groups *nd* and *st* are normally preserved in all positions.

(*b*) There is a tendency to form inter- and postvocalic groups of 'voiced plosive preceded by a homorganic nasal' to replace *either* single consonant, especially in loanwords, e.g.

bandan < Ar. *badan* 'body' *mumbārak* < Ar. *mubārak* 'blessed' *ḫambāl* < Ar. *ḫammāl* 'porter' *rimb* < Ar. *rimḥ* 'lance' *mazanda* < Ar. *maẓannat* 'conjecture' *döndim* < Tk. *dönüm* "acre"

Treatment of loanwords

§ 90 (§ 77). In addition to the changes described in § 89, loanwords from Arabic suffer such arbitrary treatment as

salam < Ar. *ṣanam* 'idol'
yayānatī < Ar. *xiyānat* 'treachery'+*-ī*

when they are not completely disguised by such malapropisms as

taʿfīl for both Ar. *tasǰīl* 'recording' and *tāǰir* 'merchant'
tarbīat for Ar. *tartīb* 'arrangement'

The phonemes *ḫ* and *ʿ* are often confused, e.g.

ḫātā < Ar. *ʿaṭā* 'gift' *ḫāyla* < Ar. *ʿāʾilat* 'family'
ḫazīz, naḫmān < Ar. *ʿAzīz, Nuʿmān*
ʿarb < Ar. *ḫarb* 'war'

MUKRĪ DIALECT

Phonemic System

§ 91. The phonetic description of the Muk. dialect in Mann, Muk. §§ 1–7, suggests a phonemic system identical with that of the neighbouring Piž. dialect (*v.* § 78). This is supported by the transcription of the few Muk. songs in Mokri, op. cit., pp. 106–31.

Consonants

§ 92. Mann states (Muk. § 2, end) that *l* and *ł* are interchangeable in most, but not all, words. These exceptions alone suffice to justify the separate phonemic status of the two consonants. For the rest it can only be noted that in neighbouring dialects there is extremely little, if any, alternation between these sounds.

§ 93. Neither Mann nor Mokri differentiate between *r* and *ṛ* in Mukrī. As the same is true of both writers' transcriptions of the Sul. dialect (Mann's in manuscript), where the opposition undoubtedly exists, the possibility of its existence in Muk. also is not thereby precluded. Moreover, Mann occasionally noted [rr], e.g. [kurr] 'boy', but normalized *kur* for publication.

Vowels

§ 94. Mann's transcription *ûê* must be for (ɥe, øe]. His manuscripts often show [*ûă*] before normalization. Since either vowel may be stressed the group appears still to be comparable with the single phoneme Sul. *ø*, albeit alternating with *wē* (*v.* §§ 44, 85), e.g.

Muk.			cf. Mokri
7^{10} *nûĺézh-*	= *nwēž*	:	410 *nwēzh*
3^{6} *khûĺén*	= *xøn*	:	428 *khwén* (Sul., *sic*)
13^{21} *khûĺén*	= *xwēn*		
7^{37} *gûĺê*	= *gø*	:	(354 *kwê*)

Diphthongs

§ 95. The transcriptions [ĕĭ] (in manuscript) and *ôû* are but minor distortions of *ăĭ*, *au*, which correspond exactly to Sul. *ay*, *aw* (*v.* § 50).

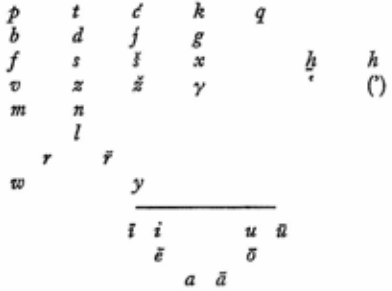
It must be assumed (despite Mann, Muk. § 6) that the long notation of the second vowel in the diphthongs *ăĭ*, *âû*, &c., is a result of distortion of the sounds in slow dictation.

ARBIL DIALECT (Kd. *Hawlēr*)

Phonemic System

§ 96. The dialect of Arbil, together with those of Koi Sanjaq (Kd. *Kōya*), the *Xōšnāw* and Rewandiz (Kd. *Řawāndiz*) areas, and probably the *Birādōst* area north of Rdz., has the following

phonemic system of twenty-seven consonants (including two semi-vowels) and eight vowels:



The system is differentiated from that of the neighbouring Piž. and Muk. dialects by its lacking the phonemes *l* and *ø*, and by the form of the affricates *ć, ǰ*.

Consonants

§ **97.** *ć, ǰ* are regularly realized as the alveolo-palatal affricates [tɕ, dʑ], i.e. *ć, ǰ* (*v.* § 82).

§ **98.** *l* of other dialects is regularly replaced by *r* (cf. § 14), e.g.

dir 'heart' Sul. *dil* *darēm* 'I say' Sul. *alēm*

[ɬ] is only heard as a recent borrowing, possibly due to radio broadcasts in the Sul. dialect.

Vowels

§ **99.** The diphthongal phoneme *ø* does not occur. It is replaced by various other phonemes, e.g.

n(i)wēž 'prayer' Sul. *nøž* *sūr* 'salty' Sul. *sør*
xundin 'to study' Sul. *xønin* *gē* 'ear' Sul. *gø*
gīz 'walnut' Sul. *gøz*

Modifications

§ **100.** As in Piž., Muk. (*v.* § 87) there is some neutralization of the opposition *-ay* : *-ē*, e.g.

ḫarbī aw šawē < **šawa-y*
bīrō nāw bīray : *aminyān hāwīlta nāw bīrē*

§ 101. The phonemes *ḥ* and *ʿ* are almost regularly interchanged by unlettered speakers, e.g.

ḥaft > *ʿaft* 'seven' *ḥājī ʿalī* > *ʿājī ḥalī* 'Haji Ali' (not an isolated spoonerism)

SŪRČĪ DIALECT

Phonemic System

§ 102. The Sur. dialect has the same phonemic system as the Arb. dialect (*v.* § 96) but the realizations of certain phonemes are appreciably different.

Consonants

§ 103. *k*, *g* are palatalized by a following front vowel or *y*, being realized as [c, ɟ]. Before *ā* a fleeting [j] is heard, which does not, however, palatalize the consonant, e.g.

kē [cʿeː] but *kā* [kʲʿaː], *gā* [gʲaː]

§ 104. *ǰ*, *ž* are replaced by the alveolo-palatal fricatives [ɕ, ʑ], which for mnemonic purposes are represented phonemically as *ś*, *ź* (cf. § 82).

Semi-vowels

§ 105. *w* is palatalized by a following front vowel or *y*, giving [ẇ]. Following another consonant in the same syllable it is realized before *ī* as a very close [ụ], e.g.

biniwīsim [binˈẇiːsim], but *dwīnē* [ˌdụiːneˑ] (cf. Sul. *dønē*)

Vowels

§ 106. *ā* is an open, front vowel of an exceptional length [aː], causing most Sur. speakers to give an unmistakable impression of 'bleating'.

Modifications

§ 107. *ā*, *ē*, and *ī* are sometimes reduced in final position, to coincide with short vowel phonemes,

ā > *a* *ē* > [e] > *a* *ī* > *i*

e.g. *dē čāra dam* < *čārā*
dē ǰōta kayn < *ǰōtē*
awi bird < *awī*

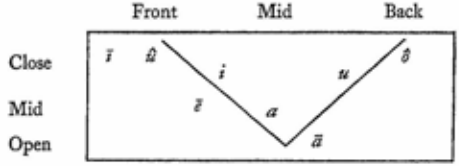
B. DIALECTS OF GROUP II

AKRE DIALECT (Kd. *Ākrē*, Ar. *'Aqra*)

Phonemic System

§ 108. The Ak. dialect, and that of the surrounding *Zēbārī* tribe, has the following phonemic system of thirty consonants (including two semi-vowels) and eight vowels:

	Labial	*Dental, Alveolar*	*Palato-alveolar*	*Velar*	*Uvular*	*Pharyngal*	*Glottal*
Stop and Affricate	*p* *b*	*t* *t̲* *d*	*č* *j*	*k* *g*	*q*		
Fricative	*f* *v*	*s* *s̲* *z* *z̲*	*š* *ž*	*x* *γ*		*ḥ* *ʿ*	*h* (')[1]
Nasal	*m*	*n*					
Lateral		*l*					
Vibrant		*r* *r̄*					
Semi-vowel	*w*		*y*				



Consonants

Labial

§ 109. *p* is a voiceless bilabial plosive, aspirated [p'] in all positions except in contact with a following consonant.

§ 110. *b* is a voiced, unaspirated bilabial plosive [b]. In secondary contact with a following voiceless consonant it is devoiced, e.g. *bu xō* [ƀxu:] (*v.* § 148).

[1] See § 137.

The secondary group [ḫh] is further reduced to [pʿ], e.g.

biḫāvēža [bʲḫaːveːʒa > ˈpʿaːveːʒa]

§ 111. *f* is a voiceless labio-dental fricative [f].

§ 112. *v* is a voiced labio-dental fricative [v]. It occurs frequently, corresponding generally to Sul., &c., *w*.

Note. In the south the *Zēbārī* territory meets that of the *Sūrčī*, and in the west that of an isolated group of *Gōrān* tribes, still speaking a Kd. dialect akin to *Sinaī*. In some Zeb. villages, therefore, the phonemes *v* and *w* coincide in *w*.

§ 113. *m* is a voiced bilabial nasal [m].

Dental and alveolar

§ 114. *t* is a voiceless dental plosive, aspirated [tʿ] in all positions except in contact with a following consonant.

§ 115. *ṯ* is a voiceless, unaspirated, alveolar emphatic plosive [t̪] produced by the blade of the tongue touching the upper tooth ridge, the rest of the tongue being depressed and rising at the back, thus forming a central hollow (as in Ar. ط).

§ 116. *d* is a voiced, unaspirated dental plosive [d] in all positions.

§ 117. *s* is a voiceless alveolar fricative [s].

§ 118. *ṣ* is a voiceless, alveolar emphatic fricative [s̪] with the same tongue position as *ṯ* (*v.* § 115). It is identical with Ar. ص.

§ 119. *z* is a voiced alveolar fricative [z].

§ 120. *ẓ* is a voiced, alveolar emphatic fricative [z̪], the voiced counterpart of *ṣ* (§ 118). It is not identical with Ar. ظ [ðˤ], though this letter, with ض, is often used to write the phoneme *ẓ*.

§ 121. *n* represents a voiced and non-bilabial nasal. Normally, that is, it is dental [n], but it may have labio-dental [ɱ] or velar [ŋ] allophones in contact with a following *v* or *k*, *g* respectively, e.g.

nivist [niˈvistʿ]	*biniva* [ˈbiɱva]
bān [baːn]	*bāng* [baːŋg]

In certain numerals only, in the context *ānz*, it is realized as a simple nasalization of the vowel, e.g.

yānza [jɑ̃ːˈza] '11'

§ **122.** *l* is a voiced, dental lateral non-fricative [l]. The velar [ɫ] is heard extremely rarely. In [tɨlp'] it may be caused by the preceding emphatic *ṭ*. [barhaɫɑ:] is a loan from Sul., &c., *barallā*. But [faɫa] 'Christian', Ar. *fallāḥ*, is extraordinary.

§ **123.** *r* is a voiced dental single flap [ɾ]. It never occurs in initial position. It is sometimes assimilated or lost before *l*, e.g.

har l min [hal min]

§ **124.** *r̄* is a voiced dental roll (trill) [r].

Palato-alveolar

§ **125.** *č* is a voiceless, palato-alveolar affricate [tʃ]. In secondary contact with *t* it is reduced to [ʃ], e.g.

nāčita ['nɑ:ʃt'a]

§ **126.** *ǰ* is a voiced, palato-alveolar affricate [dʒ].

There appears to be no reason for considering these two affricates as other than single phonemes (cf. § 19).

§ **127.** *š* is a voiceless, palato-alveolar fricative [ʃ].

§ **128.** *ž* is a voiced, palato-alveolar fricative [ʒ].

Velar

§ **129.** *k* is a voiceless, aspirated velar plosive [k']. It is palatalized by a following front vowel (including *á*, § 149) or *y*.

§ **130.** *g* is a voiced velar plosive [g]. It is palatalized by a following front vowel or *y*.

§ **131.** *x* is a voiceless velar fricative [x].

§ **132.** *γ* is a voiced velar fricative [ɣ]. It is very uncommon and even in loanwords is commonly replaced by *x*.

Post-velar

§ **133.** *q* is a voiceless uvular plosive [q].

§ **134.** *ḥ* is a voiceless pharyngal fricative [ħ].

§ **135.** ' is a voiced pharyngal fricative [ʕ], identical with Ar. ع.

§ **136.** *h* is a voiceless glottal fricative [h].

§ 137. The glottal stop [ʔ] is not a distinguishing feature of any utterance and is thus not a consonant phoneme in Ak. Kd.

All initial vowels are realized with a preceding glottal stop but this is normally lost in morpheme juncture, e.g.

āxivīt [ˈʔɑ:xivi:tˈ], but *bāxivīt* [ˈbɑ:xivi:tˈ]

There is occasional variation between normal juncture of this sort and a rarer, more 'open' juncture, represented by a hyphen, e.g.

tāxivīt [ˈtˈɑ:xivi:tˈ] ~ *t-āxivīt* [tˈˈʔɑ:xivi:tˈ]

ŕôž-āvā [ru:ʃʔɑ:ˈvɑ:] (cf. Sul. [ɾǫ:ʒą:ˈwą:])

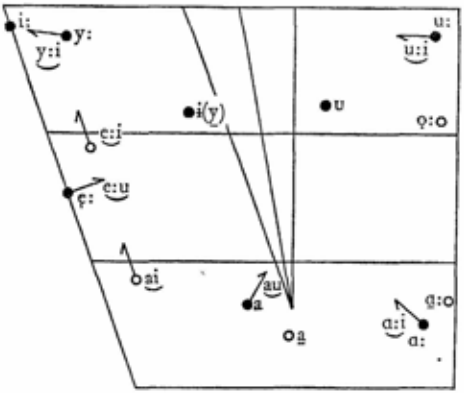
Semi-vowels

§ 138. *w* is a bilabial (back) frictionless continuant [w]. It is not noticeably palatalized by a following front vowel.

§ 139. *y* is a palatal (front) frictionless continuant [j].

Vowels

§ 140



§ 141. *ī* is invariably a very close, front vowel [i:].

§ 142. (*a*) *i* is normally a half-close, front-central vowel [ɨ]. In proximity to [y:] (*v.* § 149) it is also realized with lip-rounding as [ʏ], e.g.

dirûn [dʏˈry:n].

(*b*) In unstressed position between two consonants *i* may not be realized. Compare:

bikam [ˈbikʿam] : *či bikam* [ˈtʃiḅkʿam]
kirin [kʿiˈɪ̯in] : *kirinava* [kʿɪ̯naˈva]

and *i* < *ī* (*v.* § 283 (*a*)) in

dā čīt [dɑ: ˈtʃi:tʿ] : *dā čīta . . .* [ˌdɑ:ʃtʿa ˈ. . .]

(*c*) As the number of consonant groups tolerated in initial position in Ak. is limited (*v.* § 153 (*a*)) the syncopation of *i* in initial unstressed syllables is much less common than in Sul. (cf. § 42), though it does occur, e.g.

birā [bɪɑ:] 'brother', but [ˈbiɪɑ:] 'O brother!'

The general intolerance of consonant groups often leads to the realization of a short, unstressed *i*-like vowel, not here considered as phonemic (*v.* § 153 (*c*)).

§ **143.** *ē* is a medium, front vowel [e:], except in the diphthong *ēy*, where it approaches a half-close, front [e:].

§ **144.** *a* is normally a half-open, front-central vowel [a]. In the diphthong *ay* it approaches a half-open, front [ɛ]. Following an emphatic *ṣ*, *ṭ*, *z̤*, it is slightly more back [a̠].

§ **145.** *ā* [ɑ:] is an open, back vowel, varying with different speakers between cardinals [ɑ and ɔ]. Following an emphatic *ṣ*, *ṭ*, *z̤*, it is slightly more back [ɑ:].

§ **146.** *u* is a half-close, back-central vowel [ʊ].

§ **147.** No medium back vowel occurs in Ak. Corresponding generally to the vowels *ō*, *ū* of other Kd. dialects, Ak. has [u:, y:] respectively. It is convenient, and within the Ak. system unambiguous, to represent these phonemically as *ō*, *ū*, or, as here for mnemonic purposes, as *ô*, *û*.

§ **148.** *ô* is a close, back vowel [u:]. In contact with the emphatic consonants *ṣ*, *ṭ*, *z̤*, it is somewhat more open [ʊ:], e.g.

dôst [du:stʿ] *bôṭ* [bʊ:st]

In the common phrase *bô xô* there is frequently a reduction, thus [bu:- > bʊ- > ḅ-xu:], written *bu xô*, and so coincidence with *p xô*.

§ **149.** *û* is a close, front vowel with lip-rounding [y:]. Some speakers (it is said, the natives of one only of the three Kd. quarters of Akre, and certainly the non-Kurdish, Christian population) replace this vowel regularly by [i:], thus *mû* > *mī*. As a result of this, *û* occasionally replaces etymological *ī* in common Ak., e.g.

'ûd < Ar. *'īd* *šanga*]*bû* < **bī* 'weeping willow'

Diphthongs

§ **150.** There are two classes of diphthongs in the Ak. dialect, namely those ending in:

(i) a close, front vowel, [e̯:i, a̯i, ɑ̯:i, u̯:i, y̯:i],
(ii) a close, back vowel, [e̯:u, a̯u].

They are phonemically identical with the corresponding Sul. diphthongs of the same classes (*v.* §§ 50–52) and for the same reasons may be written *ēy*, *ay*, *āy*, *ôy*, *ûy*, and *ēw*, *aw*.

Distribution of Phonemes

Consonants

§ **151.** The recorded Kd. vocabulary of the Ak. dialect does not lend itself to the provision of a complete series of oppositions, as in Sul. (*v.* § 54).

From the following it is clear that all consonants except *r* appear and preserve their identity in initial position in the word. All consonants (with the possible exception of *ṣ*, *ṭ*, *ẓ*) occur individually in medial position. The question of final consonants requires further investigation (*v.* § 172).

p : *b* : *f* : *v* : *m* : *w*

pān 'broad' : *bān* 'roof' : *vān* 'these' : *mān* 'to remain' : *wān* 'those'. *pīr* 'old' : *bīr* 'memory' : *fīl* 'elephant' : *vī* 'this' : *mīr* 'Emir' : *wī* 'that'.

dapá 'plank', *dabáš* 'glue', *qafás* 'cage', *avá* 'this', *kamár* 'arch', *pāwán* 'grazing'.

ṭôp 'ball' : *tôb* 'roll of cloth' : *tôv* 'seed'. *sēv* 'apple' : *dēm* 'unirrigated land' : *dēw* 'demon'.

t : *ṭ* : *d* : *s* : *z* : *n*

tā 'fever' : *ṭā* 'branch' : *dā* 'in order to' : *zā* 'well!'. *tû* 'mulberry' : *dû* 'after' : *sû* 'breeze' : *zû* 'early' : *nû* 'new'.

katɬ́ 'sand-grouse' : *kudɬ́* 'cub' : *kásɪ̄* 'person' : *kazɬ́* 'plait' : *kanɬ́* 'laughter'.

mat 'aunt', *ṣad* 'ɪoo', *kas* 'person', *gaz* 'yard', *ṯān* 'fence'. *dôst* 'friend' : *bôṯ* 'hand span'.

s : *z* : *ṣ* : *ẓ* : *š* : *ž*

sûr 'salty' : *zûr* 'hillock' : *šûr* 'rampart'. *zār* 'a die' : *ṣār* 'cold'. *sivāndá* 'eaves' : *šivān* 'shepherd' : *živānɬ́* 'tryst'.

xasɬ́ 'mother-in-law' : *ʒazɬ́* 'cold, numb' : *tašɬ́* 'spindle' : *tažɬ́* 'full'.

bas 'enough' : *baz* 'suet' : *paẓ* 'sheep'. *bôš* 'abundant' : *rôž* 'day'.

š : *ǯ* : *č* : *ǰ* (: *y*)

šīn 'blue' : *žīn* 'life' : *ǰûn* 'to chew'. *šīv* 'gully' : *čīv* 'stick'. *čār* '4' : *ǰār* 'time' : *yār* 'friend'.

pēšû 'mosquito', *bīžɪ́* 'bastard', *kûčík* 'puppy', *ḫaǰɪ́* 'pilgrim'.

šāš 'mad', *rôž* 'day', *xāč* 'cross', *tā(n)j* 'crown'.

č : *ǰ* : *k* : *g* : *q*

čār '4' : *ǰār* 'time' : *kār* 'work; ornament', *kēr* 'knife' : *qēr* 'pitch'. *čā* 'tea' : *kā* 'where is ?' : *gā* 'ox'.

māčá 'Club (cards)', *bāǰán* 'aubergine', *nôká* 'now', *lagán* 'basin', *'āqár* 'plain'.

púč 'withered' : *gôj* 'club-footed' : *bûk* 'bride'.

k : *g* : *x* : *ɣ*

kɪ̄r 'silent' : *gɪ̄r* 'rough' : *xɪ̄r* 'spherical'. *kaw* 'partridge' : *xaw* 'sleep'. *gaš* 'bright' : *ɣaš* 'trick'.

řikéb 'stirrup', *ǰigārá* 'cigarette', *sīxúr* 'porcupine', *qɪ̄ɣaqɪ̄ɣ* 'croaking'.

tīk 'crack', *zig* 'stomach', *xôx* 'peach', *ǰāɣ* 'fringe'.

x : *ɣ* : *ḫ* : *ʿ* : *h*

xurɬ́ 'wool', *ɣirɬ́* 'glue', *harɬ́* 'mud'. *ḫafík* 'throat' : *'afô* 'pardon'. *ḫēštír* 'camel' : *hēstír* 'mule'.

buxůr 'incense', *āɣá* 'Agha', *rīḫán* 'basil', *dirāhá* 'yonder'.

čīx 'reed-mat', *řuḫ* 'soul', *řah* 'root'.

m : *n*

mû 'hair' : *nû* 'new'. *mālɬ́n* 'to sweep' : *nālɬ́k* 'mattress'.

qaymáy 'cream' : *qúnáy* 'stage'.

tēm 'I come' : *tēn* 'you, they come'. *šúm* 'unlucky' : *šún* 'place, trace'.

l : *r* : *ř*

lā 'side' : *rā* 'up'. *lús* 'smooth' : *řús* 'naked'.

pālá 'workman' : *pārá* 'money'. *gôrí* 'turn' : *guří* 'mangy'.

pil 'turn' : *pir* 'bridge' : *piř* 'full'. *čil* '40' : *čiř* 'tough'.

Vowels

§ **152.** The short vowels *i*, *u* rarely occur in initial or final position. *û* occurs initially only in *ûšdân* < *wišdân* 'conscience'. Otherwise the vowel phonemes preserve their identity in most positions.

ī : *ē* : *ā* : *ô* : *û*

īš 'work' : *ēš* 'pain' : *āš* 'mill'. *ôda* 'room'.

pīr 'old' : *pēr* 'day before yesterday' : *pār* 'last year' : *pôr* 'hair' : *pûč* 'withered'. *ʒār* 'cold' : *sôr* 'red' : *sûr* 'salty'.

kī 'who?' : *kē* 'whom?' : *kā* 'where is?', *gā* 'ox' : *kô* 'that' : *gû* 'faeces'.

i : *a* : *u*

kiř 'silent' : *kař* 'deaf' : *kuř* 'boy'. *gah* 'joint' : *guh* 'ear'. *či* 'what?' : *ču . . . na* 'nothing'.

Long vowel : *short* (*ī* : *i*, &c.)

pīr 'old' : *pir* 'bridge'. *kīr* 'penis' : *kir* 'did'.

kēr 'knife' : *kir* 'did'.

āv 'water' : *av* 'this'. *māst* 'curds' : *mast* 'drunk'. *tā* 'fever' : *ta* 'thee'.

xôřî 'rascal' : *xurî* 'wool'.

kûr 'deep' : *kuř* 'boy'.

Long vowel : *diphthong* (*ē* : *ay*)

tēr 'satiated' : *ṯayr* 'bird'. *vē mālē* 'this house' : *vī* *mālay* 'this property'.

Consonant groups

§ **153.** (*a*) Consonant groups are comparatively rare in the Ak. dialect, particularly in initial position. The following groups alone are attested initially, and then mainly in secondary contact:

br, *dr*, *fr*, *kr*; *by*, *dy*, *gy*, *šy*; *sm*, *sp*, *st*; *ʂʈ*;[1] *šk*; *xw*[2]

[1] Cf. *Xâlidî*'s writing *sṭ-* for *Bitlîsî*.

[2] Not normal (e.g. *xārin*, *xāja*: Sul. *xwārdin*, *xwāja*), but only in *xwā*, *xwē* < **xô* 'salt' + *-ā*, *-ē*.

(*b*) The commonest medial consonant groups may be summarized as follows:

lC, mC, nC, rC, sC, šC, vC, xC, zC, žC

The only groups of two plosives are individual occurrences of *bd, kb, tq*. The only true geminate is *ll*, and that rare.

There are no primary three-consonant groups apart from *CCy*, e.g. *fty, ngy, rsy, xty, zdy*.

(*c*) 22 final groups of two consonants are tolerated, viz.

n+g, f, k; r+č, ǰ, k, m, š, x, z; s+k, t; št

and individual occurrences of *fs, ft, hm, hn, hr, ḫf, lg, lt, ṣṯ*

When a consonant group which is permissible in medial, but not in final, position occurs in pause, or followed by a third consonant, a short, unstressed *i*-like vowel is realized between the consonants of the group. This is not written in the phonemic transcription (cf. § 56 (*c*)).

bira bar ṣalbē [ˌbiɾa baɾ ˈsa̱lbẹ:] *ṣalb kay* [ˈsa̱lᵢb̥ kʻa̱j]

§ **154.** The occurrence of heavy secondary consonant groups is quite common, owing to the frequency of the prepositions *l, p, t, v* and the modal affix *t-* (*v.* §§ 301, 281 (*a*)).

Groups of three consonants are commonly realized with no intervening vowel, thus *CCC*, e.g.

ṯayr p x*urtī* [ta̱jɾpˈxuɾtʻi:]
kiřim p p*ēnǰ* [kʻiɾimpˈpʻẹ:ndʒ]
saḫ tk*atē* [ˈsaħtkʻatʻẹ:]

A short, unstressed vowel [ɨ] may, however, be realized, either before the final consonant of the group, thus (*C*)*CC*ᵛ*C*, e.g.

az tš*ēm* [as tʻᵢʃẹ:m]
saḫ l *āgirī* [saħ lᵢʔɑ:giɾi:]
kaft l x*ānī* [kʻaft lᵢˈxɑ:ni:]

or, less commonly, before the penultimate consonant, thus (*C*)*C*ᵛ*CC*, e.g.

dat p n*ān* [datʻᵢbnɑ:n]
saḫ tk*atē* [ˈsaħᵢtkʻatʻẹ:]
hal st*ā* [ˈhalᵢstʻɑ:]

Owing to this variation *CCC* : *CC*ᵛ*C* : *C*ᵛ*CC* the vowel cannot be regarded as phonemic.

Larger secondary groups may be occasioned by the non-realization of unstressed, but phonemic, *i* (*v.* § 142). The pattern of realization is then $C^{v}CC^{v}CC$, i.e. by groups of two consonants from the last, a non-phonemic [i] being realized where necessary, e.g.

yē t-fikirīt [ˌjɟe:tfikʿˈɪi:tʿ] but *tē t-fikirit-ē* [ˈtʿɐ: tˈʲfkʿiɾˌtʿe:]
galak t-girīt [gaˈlakʿʲgˌɪi:tʿ]

SHEIKHAN AND DOHUK DIALECTS (Kd. *Šēxān, Dahōk*)

§ 155. The Shn. and Dhk. dialects have a phonemic system identical with that of Akre (*v.* § 108). The only phonetic difference is in the realization of *ō, ū* as the simple vowels [o:, u:], rather than [u:, y:], respectively.

AMADIYE AND ZAKHO DIALECTS (Kd. *Āmēdī(ē), Zāxō*; Ar. *ʿAmādīya*)

Phonemic System

§ 156. The dialects of Amadiye and Zakho, together with those of the intermediate *Barwārī-žōr, Sindī*, and *Gullī* areas, have the following phonemic system of thirty-three consonants (including two semi-vowels) and eight consonants:

ṕ	*t́*		*č́*	*k̄*				
p	*t*	*ṯ*		*k*	*q*			
b	*d*		*ǰ*	*g*				
f	*s*	*ṣ*	*š*	*x*		*ḥ*	*h*	
v	*z*	*ẓ*	*ž*	*γ*		*ʿ*	(ʾ)	
m	*n*							
	l							
	r	*ṙ*						
w			*y*					

ī	*ū*	*i*		*u*	*ō*
		ē			
			a	*ā*	

The system differs from that of Ak. (*v.* § 108) in having two series of voiceless plosives, namely *ṕ, t́, k̄* aspirated and *p, t, k* unaspirated.

Consonants

§ **157.** The aspirated voiceless plosives *ṕ, t́, k̔* correspond phonetically in every particular to the Ak. phonemes *p, t, k* [p', t', k']. The Am., Zx. series *p, t, k* are unaspirated in all contexts. The significant factor in the oppositions [p' : p, t' : t, k' : k] being the aspiration it is convenient to mark this positively in the phonemic notation *ṕ, t́, k̔*. Examples:

ṕēšû 'mosquito'	:	*pē* 'foot'
ṕaẖnī 'heel'	:	*paẖtin* 'to cook'
t́axt́ 'bench'	:	*taẖtī* 'felt rug'
k̔ar 'donkey'	:	*kar* 'piece'
k̔urk̔ 'fur coat'	:	*kurk* 'broody (hen)'

Vowels

§ **158.** *û* [y:] is confused by some speakers with unrounded *ī* [i:], e.g.

dûng [dy:ŋg] > *dīng* [di:ŋg]

Consonant Groups

§ **159.** (*a*) In Am. secondary consonant groups are realized as in Ak. (*v.* § 154), i.e. either without an intrusive vowel, as *CCC*, e.g.

čē tkan ž *hirīē* [tʃę:tkanʃˈhiɾi:ę:]

or as *CC*ᵛ*C*, e.g.

r̄ašīd l *baγdā* [raˌʃi:d lⁱbaγˈdɑ:]

or as *C*ᵛ*CC*, e.g.

čôn p *r̄ēva* [tʃu:nⁱpręːva]

(*b*) In the remaining dialects of the group there is less flexibility. Whenever three consonants come into secondary contact a short, unstressed [ɨ] is realized before the penultimate consonant of the group, thus *always C*ᵛ*CC*. Similarly when two consonants in secondary contact follow a pause they are preceded by a short, unstressed [ɨ], thus ᵛ*CC*. Examples:

Bar. *k̔at́* ž *darva* [k'at'ⁱʒˈdaɾva]
Zx. *dast́* p *šôlī* [dast'ⁱpˈʃu:li:]
Gul. ž *zamān* [ⁱʒzaˈmɑ:n]

HAKARI AND BOHTAN DIALECTS (Kd. *Hakārī, Bôtān*)

§ 160. No satisfactory phonetic description of either of these dialects exists. The most recent description, that of Hadank (op. cit., pp. 20–25), is based on the speech of the cosmopolitan Emîr Kamuran Alî Bedir-Xan (KABX), of Bohtani family, and is of little value. It is possible, however, to cull the following facts from the description in *L'Alphabet Kurde*, a series of articles in the Kd. periodical *Hawar* (Damascus, 1932–43) by Emîr Celadet Alî Bedir-Xan (CABX).

(*a*) *Hawar*, No. 11, p. 7. 'Les Kurdes de la région constituée par le (Botan) au centre, le (Heqarî) au Nord et le (Behdînan) au Sud prononcent . . . le (û) comme le (u) français, ainsi que la majorité des kurdes comme le (u) allemand. Comme conséquence naturelle de cette prononciation, les mêmes kurdes prononcent le (o) comme le (ou) français, . . .'

(*b*) CABX states (*Hawar*, No. 6, p. 10) that there is a 'manque de (û) bref dans la langue Kurde'. Accordingly he uses the letter *u* for 'presque un nouveau son'. His description of this sound is somewhat obscure, but Lescot (op. cit. (ii), p. vi, n. 2) summarizes thus, '*u*—correspond au son *wi*', i.e. [wi]. But Hadank gives no special description of this sound, cf. op. cit., p. 29, *gundekî Kurdistanê*, transcribed phonetically [gúndäkî kurdistánē].

(*c*) *Hawar*, No. 10, p. 5. 'De même certains Kurdes . . . prétend(*ent*) que dans la langue Kurde aussi existe(*nt*) deux (ك), comme en arabe le (س) et le (ص), le (ت) et le (ط) et ainsi de suite.' CABX, however, does not consider that the opposition k_1:k_2 exists and makes no distinction in his alphabet. But the following note, *Hawar*, No. 25, p. 2 n., is revealing: '*Me "kher" yanî mirovê ko nabihîze, bi vî awayî nivîsand, da ko ji "kerê" heywan bête veqetan(d)in. Ji xwe ev "kh" ji ya din stûrtir e.*' 'We have written *kher*, i.e. a man who cannot hear, in this manner to differentiate it from *ker*, the animal. This *kh* is by nature *thicker* than the other.' The choice of letters is unfortunate as *kar* 'donkey' has the aspirate and *karî* 'deaf' the unaspirated ('*thick*' = emphatic ?) *k*. Nevertheless the opposition appears to exist in (?) Bohtani.

(*d*) *Hawar*, No. 4, p. 9. 'On pourrait noter ce son au moyen du (ë), comme dans les mots (pëz پَز) et (sëd سَد) . . .; avec la dictée arabe, on pourrait peut-être rendre ces sons en durcissant les

consonnes et en écrivant (پظ, صد).' 'Nous avons constaté, d'autre part, la même variante de prononciation dans des mots empruntés à l'arabe. ësqer, ëreb, ëlî.' (I.e. *'askar*, *'arab*, *'alī*.) CABX is speaking of his own pronunciation 'en tant qu'originaire de Botan'. He attributes the difference in pronunciation of these and like words to an insignificant variation in the vowel alone and, accordingly, no distinction of the consonant values *s* : *ṣ*, *t* : *ṭ*, *z* : *ẓ*, or indication of ', is made in his alphabet.

It is reasonable to assume from these notes concerning the debatable phonemes *ô*, *û*; *u*; *k*, *k̆*, &c.; *ṣ*, &c., that the Hakari and Bohtani dialects have a phonemic system identical with that of the Am., Zx. dialects (*v.* § 156).

BITLIS DIALECT (Kd. *Bitlīs*)

§ **161.** *Xālidī*, writing in *Mūṭkī*, a few miles west of Bitlis, comes as near as the Arabic alphabet permits to giving a complete picture of the phonemic system of this *Bitlīsī* dialect.

A distinction between aspirated and unaspirated voiceless plosives is not made, nor is *r̄* specially marked. On this subject, however, see the note (op. cit., p. 208) s.v. کَر, '*kar*, "donkey" and "deaf" and "loan" and "piece", and the Kurds have slight differences in their pronunciations of these words, according to the meanings given, which none but they can arrive at, and it is not possible to describe them here.' Cf. Zx. *k̆ar* 'donkey', *kar̄* 'deaf', *kar* 'piece', but *qar* 'loan'.

The emphatics *ṣ*, *ṭ*, *ẓ* and ' all appear, described exactly as in the Ak., Am., &c., dialects.

It is justifiable to assume then that the *Bitlīsī* dialect has a phonetic system identical with the Am., Zx. dialects (*v.* § 156) with the reservation that *ō*, *ū* are pronounced simply as [o:, u:] respectively.

EREVAN DIALECT (Kd. *Rawān*)

§ **162.** For the last three decades Erevan, capital of the Armenian S.S. Republic, has been the centre for an increasing output of Kd. books and periodicals. These have appeared first in a Latin script, from 1929 to 1945, and since then in a modified Cyrillic. The language of these publications is, presumably, the dialect of

the Erevan area, albeit normalized. This, with the Kd. dialects spoken in the neighbouring Georgian and Azerbaijan Republics, has been the subject of the researches of a number of Soviet scholars. The fullest recent description of the Rwn. dialect is that of Kurdoev (op. cit. (ii)).

Phonemic System

§ 163. Kurdoev (ibid., pp. 15 ff.) gives the following system for the Rwn. dialect of thirty-one consonants (including two semi-vowels) and eight vowels:

ṕ	*ť*	*č́*	*ǩ*			
p	*t*	*č*	*k*	*q*		
b	*d*	*ǰ*	*g*			
f	*s*	*š*		*x*	*ẖ*	*h*
v	*z*	*ž*		*γ*	(ʿ)	
m	*n*					
	l					
	r	*r̄*				
w		*y*				

ī	*i*	*ū*	
ē	*ö*	*ō*	
	a	*ā*	

This system shares with that of the Am., Zx. dialects the two series of voiceless plosives, aspirated and unaspirated, but differs from it in the following particulars:

(i) absence of the emphatic consonants *ṣ́*, *ṭ́*, *ǯ́* (*v.* § 164),
(ii) presence of a third affricate *č́* (*v.* § 165).
(iii) classification of *x*, *γ* as uvular, rather than velar,
(iv) realization of ʿ (*v.* § 166),
(v) replacement of *u* by *ö* (*v.* § 167),
(vi) realization of *ō*, *ū*, [o:, u:] rather than [u:, y:].

Consonants

§ 164. The emphatic consonants *ṣ́*, *ṭ́*, *ǯ́* are not marked in any way. In some words the emphasis of an initial *ṭ́-* in the Zx.

dialect appears to be reflected by the 'aynation' of the following vowel in Rwn. (*v.* § 166), e.g.

Zx. *ṯārī, ṯāv, ṯāžī* : Rwn. *tə́ri, tə́v, tə́ži*

§ **165.** The affricate phoneme written ϵ, then ч', in Rwn., and here as *ć*, is variously described. Sokolova (op. cit. (ii), p. 79) quotes Cukerman simply, '*č* - pharyngalized'. Bakaev (op. cit., p. 513) is inconsistent. Misled apparently by the diacritic, he describes ч' first as an aspirate (with п', т', к') and then as having 'a certain pharyngalization'. Adjarian[1] transcribed the sound *č* (unaspirated) in opposition to *č̣* (aspirated). This is borne out by Miller's (op. cit. (i), p. 72), Bakaev's, and Kurdoev's comparison with Armenian ϫ, i.e. a voiceless, *ejective* affricate [tʃ'].[2]

§ **166.** In place of a consonantal phoneme ' there appear various modifications of the vowel *a* by means of a diacritic (*ə́, ə'*). Miller (op. cit. (i), pp. 68–69) describes the sign both as indicating 'aynation (*ajnacija*) of a vowel, or an *ayn*, or its voiceless equivalent *ḥ*, following it' and as 'simply an initial vowel, but pronounced with *Presstimme*'. He further observes that the Kurds of Azerbaijan replace *ə́* by *h*, e.g. *ə́rd* > *hərd* 'earth'.

Sokolova (op. cit. (i), p. 14) refers to the 'upper-pharyngal articulation which is a characteristic of Armenian Kurdish and there apparently forms a pharyngalized *a* (aʟ) in place of an etymological ع'. Bakaev (op. cit., p. 512) defines *ə'* as 'pharyngalized *ə* . . . pronounced with tension of the walls of the pharynx'. Kurdoev (op. cit. (ii), p. 17) describes it as a 'tense, aynized sound of the type of Arabic ع', approaching long *ā* in medial position.

Thus the sign appears to be ambiguous, representing initially '+*V* and medially *V*+', with certain exceptions. The ' may be written over the vowel in transliteration also, thus

ánī, árab, fimāát, tárī, táv, tážī, &c.

Vowels

§ **167.** For *u* there appears a vowel, written in Latin script as *y* (cf. *u* for *ū*), but in Cyrillic as *ö*. This Kurdoev describes as a 'palatalized labial front' vowel, with two variants, viz. pronounced

[1] 'Recueil de mots kurdes en dialecte de Novo-Bayazet', *M.S.L.* XVI of 1910.

[2] See W. S. Allen, 'Phonetics of an Eastern Armenian speaker', *T.P.S.* of 1950, pp. 188, 194.

as Turkish ö following *f*, *t*, *d*, and *x*, and acquiring a *w*-colouring following *k*, *k*, *g*, *γ*, and *q*. Bakaev defines it as a 'central (nearer to back) labialized vowel'. It may be transcribed as *ö* (contrast Sul. *ø*, § 44).

OTHER NORTHERN KURDISH DIALECTS

§ 168. It is impossible to give a sufficient phonetic, still less phonemic, description of any of the remaining northern Kd. dialects from the published material available. The Latin alphabet designed for these dialects by Celadet Alî Bedir-Xan (*v.* § 160), far from representing any one dialect, is intended to give only the 'highest common factor' of all northern Kd. dialects. The letters employed give a basic system of twenty-five consonants (including two semi-vowels) and eight vowels, as follows:

a (= *ā*), b, c (= *j*), ç (= *č*), d, e (= *a*), ê, f, g, h, ḧ (= *ḥ*), i, î, j (= *ž*), k, l, m, n, o (= *ō*), p, q, r, (rr = *ṙ*), s, ş (= *š*), t, u, û, v, w, x, ẍ (= *γ*), y, z.

Index of phonemes

§ 169. [See overleaf]

Unless otherwise stated, = signifies 'the description given in the paragraph noted to the left applies'.

C. GENERAL

STRESS, INTONATION, AND JUNCTURE

§ 170. The Kd. dialect material available, both that presented here and published previously, does not provide a suitable basis for a full description of the features of stress and intonation.[1] Stress has been mentioned above, particularly as a criterion in the choice of a phonemic orthography for the various dialects. It will also be treated incidentally below when it appears relevant to the morphological description.

[1] McCarus, op. cit., gives a first and, notwithstanding a certain inaccuracy in his data, a useful analysis of the 'Non-Linear Phonemes' of the Sul. dialect.

INDEX OF PHONEMES

	Sul.	*War.*	*Piž. &c.*	*Arb. &c.*	*Ak.*	*Am. &c.*	*Rwn.*
a	45	71	= Sul.	=	144	=	=
ā	46	=	=	106	145	=	=
b	3	62	= Sul.	=	110	=	=
č	17, 19	=	82 *č*	97	125	=	=
ĉ							165
d	8, 9, 37	63	80	=	116	=	=
e	43	70	84	=	143	=	=
f	4	=	=	=	111	=	=
g	23, 25	64	= Sul.	103	130	=	=
γ	27	=	=	=	132	=	163
h	32	=	=	=	136	=	=
ḥ	29, 31	=	=	101	134	=	=
i	41–42	69	= Sul.	=	142	=	=
ī	40	=	=	=	141	=	=
j	18–19	=	82 *j*	97	126	=	=
k	22, 25	=	83	103	129	=	=
ḱ						157	=
l	13	=	=	=	122	=	=
ḷ	14	=	=	98			
m	6	=	=	=	113	=	=
n	12	=	81	=	121	=	=
ŋ	24–25	=					
ō	47	72	= Sul.	=	147–8 *ō*	=	163 *ō*
ø	44	=	85	99			(*ō*, see *u*)
p	2	=	=	=	109	=	=
ṕ						157	=
q	28	=	=	=	133	=	=
r	15	=	=	=	123	=	=
ṛ	16	=	=	=	124	=	=
s	10	=	=	=	117	=	=
ṣ	(10 (*b*))				118	=	164
ś	20	=	=	104 *ś*	127	=	=
t	7, 37	66	79	=	114	=	=
ť						157	=
ṭ					115	=	164
u	48	=	=	=	146	=	167 *ō*
ū	49	73	= Sul.	=	147, 149 *ū*	158 *ū*	163 *ū*
v	5	=	=	=	112	=	=
w	34	67	88	105	138	=	=
x	26	=	=	=	131	=	163
y	35	=	=	=	139	=	=
z	11	=	=	=	119	=	=
ẓ					120	=	164
ź	21	=	=	104 *ź*	128	=	=
ʿ	30–31	=	=	101	135	=	166
[ʔ]	33	=	=	=	137	=	=
Diphthongs	50–53	=	86	=	150	=	=
Distribution	54–55	=	=	=	151–2	=	=
Consonant groups	56–57	74	89	=	153–4	159	=
Vowel groups	36, 58–60	75–76					
Phonemic system	1	61	78	96	108	156	163

Although the spacing and punctuation employed in the texts implies some statement of different juncture and intonation patterns it is, in part at least, conventional.

VOWEL COMBINATION

§ 171. With certain minor variations from one dialect to another vowels in internal and external combination undergo the following changes. Examples, unless otherwise stated, are from Sul.

(*a*) *ī*, *ū*, following any other vowel are reduced to the corresponding semi-vowel, e.g.

ē-, ka-, dā-, xō-, nū-+**-ī* > *ēy, kay, dāy, xōy, nūy*
dī-, dā-+**-ū* > *dīw, dāw*
pē, gø, māma, gā, gō, gū+**-ī* > *pēy, gøy, māmay, gāy, gōy, gūy*

The special cases of *-i/ī*+**-ī* > *-i/īy* > *-ī*, *-ū*+**-ū* > *-ūw* > *-ū*, are described in § 60.

(*b*) *ē* normally retains its identity, sometimes coalescing with preceding *ē*, *a*, e.g.

ē-, nū-+**-ē(t)* > *ē(t), nwé(t)*
War. *gaya-*+**-ē(t)* > *gayē(t)*
Bin. *ʔē, qisa*+**-ē* > *ʔēē, qisē*

Unstressed *-ē* may appear as *-ya* following any other vowel (cf. § 59 (*a*)), e.g.

bida, nadā+**-ē* > Bin. *bídaya*, Sul. *n(ad)dya*
kursī, dē, gø, ēwāra, kābrā, ǰō, xānū+**-ēk* > *kursťyak,*[1] *dēyak,*[1] *gøyak,*[1] *ēwāráyak, kābráyak, ǰóyak, xānúyak*

(*c*) *a* is generally linked to a preceding vowel, other than *ī*, *ū*, by the semi-vowel *y*, e.g.

dē, gø, ēwāra, kābrā, ǰō+**-a* > *dēya, gøya, ēwāraya, kābrāya, ǰōya*
Bin. *dē, sa, āyā, čaqō*+**-aka* > *dēyaka, sayaka, āyāyaka, čaqōyaka*

[1] See § 35 (*b*).

Alternatively, unstressed *-a* may be elided following *ĕ, a, ā, ŏ,* but not normally *ø,* in internal combination, e.g.

dĕ, ēwāra, kābrā, ǰŏ, (gø)+-aká > dĕká, ēwāraká, kābrāká, ǰŏká, (gøyaká)*

dønē, ēwāra, ēstā, nīwařō, (kø)+-awa > dønĕwa, ēwārāwa, ēstāwa, nīwařŏwa, (kóyawa)*

The vowel *a* follows *ī, ū* directly, but the resulting group may be reduced in unstressed position, *īa, ūa > ē, ō* respectively (*v.* § 59), e.g.

kursī, ōrdū+-aká > kursīaká, ōrdūaká > kursēká, ōrdōká*

(*d*) *ā* is joined to preceding *ē, ø, ā, ō* by the semi-vowel *y*, e.g.

dē, gø, čirā, halō+-ān > dēyān,[1] gøyān,[1] čirāyān, halōyān*

It coalesces with preceding *a*, e.g.

ēwāra+-ān > ēwārān*

It follows immediately on *ī, ū*, e.g.

kursī, xānū+-ān > kursīān, xānūān*

(*e*) Summary.

	i-	ĕ-	ø-	a-	ā-	ŏ-	u-
-ī	*īy > ī*	*ēy*	*øy*	*ay*	*āy*	*ōy*	*ūy*
-ĕ	*īĕ, yĕ*	*ēĕ, ĕ*		*ĕ*	*āĕ*		*ūĕ, wĕ*
-ø	*īya*	*ēya*	*øya*	*aya*	*āya*	*ōya*	*ūya*
-a	*ia (> ē)*	*ēya, ĕ*	*øya*	*aya, a*	*āya, ā*	*ōya, ō*	*ūa (> ō)*
-ā	*iā*	*ēyā*	*øyā*	*ā*	*āyā*	*ōyā*	*ūā*
-u	*īw*				*āw*		*ūw > û*

SECONDARY CONTACT OF CONSONANTS

§ **172.** (*a*) In all Kd. dialects final consonants are particularly unstable. There is a strong tendency for a final voiced plosive, affricate or fricative to be devoiced in pause or in secondary contact with a voiceless consonant, e.g.

[1] See § 35 (*b*).

Sul. *la bar kird*, [kʻɪɾt] *gurǰ ḫamām* [gʊɾtʃ ħ . . .]
sarī barz kird [bɑrs kʻ . . .] *sad pōlīs* [sat pʻ . . .]
wakū sag sar [sɑk sɑr]
Ak. *az xulām* [ʔɑs x . . .] *xô hižānd.* [hiʒɑ:nt]
tô čituv ḫākimī [ʃtʻʊf ħ . . .] *ô watuv.* [watʻʊf]

In one borderline case, that of Ak., &c., *-av* (*v.* § 300 (*a*)), so written in the light of the general form *-(a)va*, a voiced consonant is also regularly devoiced in contact with a following nasal or lateral, e.g.

Ak. *bidav min* [bidaf min] *čôv lālī* [tʃu:f l . . .]

(*b*) To a lesser extent a final voiceless plosive or fricative may be voiced in contact with a voiced consonant or vowel, e.g.

Sul. *pāšāyak abē* [pą:ˌʃą:jɛg aˈbɛ:] *amayay hōš bū* [hǫ:ʒ ˈbu:]
agar šēt nīt [ʃɛ:d ˈni:t]
Bin. *awīš dē* [awi:ʒ de:] *bas malikšā* [baz m . . .]
bē-kayf nīm [be:kʻɐjv ni:m]
Ak. *dast dā* [daz dɑ:] *ammā* p *wī* [ammɑ: bwi:][1]
Am. *gôšt žē* [gu:ʒᵈ ʒe:]

(*c*) In secondary contact occasioned by the loss of an unstressed *i* (*v.* §§ 42, 142) a voiced consonant is generally assimilated to a voiceless consonant, whether it precedes or follows, e.g.

Sul., &c. *kāsibī* [ką:sˈpʻi:] (cf. *aspāb* < Ar. *asbāb*)
War. *tōskē* < **tōzikē*
Ak., &c. *čî bikayn* [ˈtʃipkʻajn] *bēžitav xô* [be:ʃtʻaf xu:]

There are, however, exceptions, e.g.

Sul. *ƒāw ū ƒāwžgār* < **ƒāw-ū-šikār*

(*d*) There are certain, very rare, examples of the assimilation of a consonant to another with which it is not in direct contact, e.g.

Sul. *sīk* < *zik* < *zig*
Bin. *ɣabar* < *xabar*
Bin., Muk. *kutī* < *gutī*

[1] This example is exceptional. The Ak., &c., prepositions *p*, *t* and the modal prefix *t-* (*v.* §§ 301, 281 (*a*)) are so normalized, rather than *b*, *d*, *d-*, because of the regular appearance of the voiceless consonant in contexts where a voiced consonant would normally be preserved, e.g.

Ak. p *lax* [pʻˈi laz] *az tnivīsim* [astʻˈinˈvi:sim]
t *dilē xôdā* [tʻˈi dil] *azē tnivīsim* [aze:tniˈvi:sim]
tēnī tbim [tʻe:ˈni:tbim]

PART II

SULEIMANIYE, *WĀRMĀWA*, BINGIRD, *PIŽDAR*, *MUKRĪ*, ARBIL, REWANDIZ, AND *XŌŠNĀW* DIALECTS

A. MORPHOLOGY

NOUNS

Definition and Number

§ **173.** (*a*) In Sul., War. the simple noun, formally singular, may have a generic or indefinite plural sense, e.g.

Sul. 1 *r̄ūy kirda* šāx *ū* kēw: he set out for the mountains
10 kur̄ . . . *r̄ōīštin*: the lads went
48 sarī biniādam: men's heads
War. 118 *lagal* r̄afīq*im*: with my friends

(*b*) In the Sor. dialects and Muk. the same is true of a formally singular noun, be it in the direct or oblique case (*v.* § 180), e.g.

Bin. 312 tala*yān bō dirust dakāt*: he makes traps for them
Piž. — dastī*tān bišōn*: wash your hands
Muk. 83[37] šēx *nārdyān*: the sheikhs sent . . .
§ 12 šērī *dabē bikūžin*: you must kill lions

More frequently, however, the morpheme *-ān* is present to indicate indefinite plurality (*v.* § 177 (*a*)).

§ **174.** (*a*) In Sul., War., all Sor., and Muk. the suffix *-aká* serves to define a noun, e.g.

Sul. 11 *xalq*aka *wutyān*: the people said
26 *šit*aka *abē ba 'ayba*: the matter will become a shame

(*b*) Following a consonant or a semi-vowel (i.e. a diphthong) the suffix *-aká* is added directly to the noun, e.g.

Sul. — *pyāw*aka, *šaw*aka: the man, night

It combines regularly with a preceding vowel (*v.* § 171 (*c*)), thus: following *ø*, it appears as *-yaká* in all dialects, e.g.

Sul. — *gøyaka*: the ear

following *ē*, *a*, *ā*, *ō*, it appears as *-ká* in Sul., War., Muk., e.g.

Sul. — *ēwāraka*, *kābrāka*: the evening, fellow
War. — *dēka*, *fōka*: the village, barley
Muk. § 9 *angustīlaka*, *āyāka*: the ring, Agha

but as *-yaká* in Bin., Piž., Arb., e.g.

Bin. — *dēyaka*, *sayaka*, *āyāyaka*: the village, dog, Agha

With preceding *ī*, *ū* the suffix commonly coalesces, e.g.

Sul. — *xānūaka* > *xānwaka* > *xānōka*: the house
12 *qāpīaka* > *qāpēka*: the gate
Muk. § 9 *fūānū*^{m}*aka*, *fūānwaka*: the foal

§ 175. (*a*) In Sul., War., all Sor., and Muk. the suffix *-á*[1] also defines a noun.

In Sul. it is used in narrative with known characters or things, e.g.

Sul. 30 *gurzēkī dā ba xānūa*: he struck the (said) house a blow with his mace
59 *dāpīra*: the old woman (in question)

This usage is less common in the other dialects, but does occur, e.g.

Muk. 10^{6} *fūa*: the Jew

(*b*) The main function of the suffix *-á* is to appear in conjunction with the demonstrative adjectives (*v.* § 192).

In Sul. a noun or nominal phrase (*v.* § 185 (*b*)) qualified by a demonstrative adjective always takes the suffix *-á*, e.g.

Sul. 9 *aw dašta*: that plain
32 *am kiča*: this girl
37 *am qūwat ū harakata*: this power and vigour

In War. *-á* occasionally does not appear after a noun so qualified, e.g.

War. 218 *am šōrat ū nāw-ī bīst*: he heard of this fame

See also § 199.

[1] The suffix *-é*, taken by *Wahbī* and Edmonds (quoted by me, *BSOAS*, XVI. 541) as a feminine form of 'definite article', is exclusively a vocative and hypocoristic ending (*v.* § 181 (*b*)).

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In Bin., Piž., Muk. a noun takes the suffix *-á* when qualified by the simple demonstrative adjective, but not when the adjective has either the plural or feminine oblique endings (cf. § 192 (*b*)).

In Arb., Rdz., Xoš. a noun qualified by the demonstrative adjective *aw* only takes the suffix *-á* when the sense is 'proximate' (*v.* § 192 (*b*)), e.g.

Arb. 417 aw *kārwāna*: this caravan
Rdz. 475 aw *sē birāyāna*: these three brothers

The examples in the texts of *-aká* appearing in this context, e.g.

Arb. 437 aw *birāyaka*: this brother

appear to be vulgar, if not 'wrong'.

(*c*) The suffix combines regularly with a preceding vowel (*v.* § 171 (*c*)), i.e. following *ē, ø, a, ā, ō* it generally appears as *-yá*, e.g.

Sul. — *aw amustīla*ya : that ring
1 *am pāšāya*: this king
Bin. 300 *am qisaya*: this talk
Muk. § 10 *aw xulāya*: that God
Arb. 421 *aw čākaya*: this good deed

In Muk. (and possibly Xoš.) it may, irregularly, coalesce with preceding *a*, e.g.

Muk. 9⁹ *aw angustīla*: that ring
Xoš. 443 *aw bīša*: this thicket

§ 176. (*a*) The suffixes Sul., War., Bin., Piž., *ʿē(k)*, Muk. *ʿēk*, Rdz. *ʿēk*, *ʿak*, Arb., Xoš. *ʿak*, give a noun indefinite sense, or one of unity, e.g.

Sul. 1 *mamlakátēk*: a country
2 *šartēk akayn*: we shall make a bond
5 *yakēk*: someone
Muk. 5³³ *wúrčēk*: a bear
Arb. 414 *rōžak . . . xáwnakī dīt*: one day (he) saw a dream

The forms *-ē, -ēk* alternate freely except (with E.) when followed immediately by a personal pronoun suffix, the Izafe, the conjunc-

tion *ū* 'and' or the enclitic present tense of the substantive verb, when *-ēk* normally occurs. Exceptions to this rule, such as

Sul. 82 *šartē-ṯ lagal*: a bond with thee

(*-ṯ* personal pronoun suffix, v. § 197), are very rare.

(*b*) In Sul., Bin., Piž. the suffix appears regularly as *-yak*[1] following a vowel (*v.* § 171 (*b*)), e.g.

Sul. 30 *xānûyak*: a house
49 *qarawēla*yak: a bedstead
98 *malāy*ak *ū faqē*yak: a mullah and a student
Bin. 300 *sa*yak: a dog
307 *dē*yak: a village

In the shorter form, which rarely occurs in Sul. after another vowel, the vowel length is preserved, e.g.

Sul. 28 *pārčay*ē *kāγaz*: a piece of paper

In War. the postvocalic forms *-ya*, *-yē* ([-jɛ, -jɐ·], *v.* §§ 70, 71) appear to alternate freely, e.g.

War. 195 *haftay*ē: a week
213 *yakānay*a: a boar
224 *dav'ay*ē: one time
233 *tōy*a: someone like thee

Mann quotes the following combinations of *-ēk* with preceding vowels,

Muk. § 11 *γalabáyēk*, *pādišáēk*: a victory, king
mēšá+*-ēk* > *mēšēk*: a thicket

The latter may be a mistaken hearing of *-áyak* (cf. Muk. 11[6] *hēnánawa* 'they brought back', for *hēnāyānawa*), but Mokri, Song 383, also has Muk. *ǰōgēk* 'a stream' < *ǰōga*. Mann has tacitly normalized for publication in some places, e.g.

Muk. 2[35] *lä dē'ēk*, for MS. *lä dēäk*: in a village, cf. Bin. 307 *dē*yak.

[1] E., and some Kd. writers, normalize by writing *-ēk* ﻙێ, and *-yēk* ﻳێ following a vowel, e.g.

E. *brayēk*, *kundeyēk*: a brother, water-skin

The Arb., Rdz., Xoš. form *ʿak* may either be linked to a preceding vowel by *y*, e.g.

Arb. 414 *pāšāyak*: a king
419 *hōdayak*: a room

or the *a* may be elided following an *a*, e.g.

Arb. 441 *kundak*: a water-skin
Xoš. 443 *bīšak*: a thicket

The suffix may coalesce with a preceding *ī*, giving *-ēk* (*v.* § 59 (*a*)), e.g.

Arb. 427 *grānīak* > *grānēk*: a famine

(*c*) A noun qualified by an indefinite or interrogative adjective (*v.* § 191) commonly takes the suffix *-ē(k)*, *-ak* and may, nevertheless, have a plural sense, e.g.

Sul. 8 *čī kičēk . . . čī kičē*: whichever girl
18 *čay wazīrēk*: some viziers
Muk. § 11 *čand dēwēk*: some demons
hamū kārēk: all affairs
Arb. 421 *čī xawnak*: what (sort of) dream

In conjunction with the numeral *yak* (*v.* § 193) a number of irregular contractions occur, thus:

Sul. — *yakēkyān*, but War. 252 yēkyān: one of them
Sul. — *har yakē*, but Bin. 308, Arb. 436 *har* yaka: each one

§ **177.** (*a*) The morpheme *-ān* indicates plurality.[1] In its absence a noun may still have an indefinite plural sense (*v.* §§ 173, 176 (*c*), 185 (*b*)). Conversely an indefinite plural noun may take the ending *-ān*,[2] and in all Sor. and Muk. normally does so, e.g.

[1] A few nouns have plurals in *-āt*, *-hāt*, *-jāt*, derived ultimately from the Ar. fem. pl. in *-āt*, but here calques from NP., e.g.

bāx, *bāyāt* 'garden(s)', NP. *bāy*, *-āt*
bahārāt 'spices', NP. do.
dē, *-hāt* 'village(s)', NP. *dih*, *-āt*
mīwa, *-hāt*, *-jāt* 'fruit(s)', NP. *mīve*, *-jāt*

The morpheme *-gal*, which (with its derivatives *-al*, *-ayl*) is the regular plural ending of the dialects of *Sīna*, *Kirmānšāh*, &c. (*v.* Barr, Mokri, opp. citt.), appears in Sul. with the names of animals as a 'collective' morpheme only, e.g.

gā 'ox', *gāgal* 'herd of cattle'
mē 'sheep', *mēgal* 'flock of sheep'

[2] Cf. § 239 (*a*).

Sul. — *pašīmānān šāxyān lē birẅāya*: if horns were to grow on those with regrets
Bin. 367 *astērān muwāfīqin*: the stars are favourable
Piž. 409 *la binyādamān*: from men
Muk. § 25 *birāyān*: brothers

A noun qualified by an indefinite or interrogative adjective (*v.* § 191) may take the ending *-ān*, which then precedes the suffix *-ē(k)* (*v.* § 176 (*c*)), e.g.

Sul. 4 *čay kasānēk*: some persons
War. 209 *bāzē xalqān*: some people

In general, however, the ending *-ān* appears in conjunction with the defining suffix *-aká* (§ 174), forming *-akán*, e.g.

Sul. 107 *wulāxakāntān*: your steeds
Muk. § 25 *aspakān*: the horses
Xoš. 446 *āyākānī tir*: the other Aghas

(*b*) The ending *-ān* combines regularly with a preceding vowel (*v.* § 171 (*d*)), thus:

it is joined to preceding *ē*, *e*, *ā*, *ō* by *y*, e.g.

Sul. — *am birāyāna*: these brothers
Piž. — *la hartik lāyāndā*: on both sides

but coalesces with preceding *a*, e.g.

Sul. — *am ǰōgāna*: these streams (*ǰōga*)
Piž. 399 *law qisāna*: in these matters (*qisa*)

and, in all dialects, *-akán* (*v.* (*a*) above).

In Sor. and Muk., however, *-ān* may coalesce, irregularly, with preceding *ā*, e.g.

Muk. § 25, fn. 1 *malāyán*, *malán*: mullahs
Arb 415 *aw birāna*: those brothers (*birā*)

(*c*) In Sul., War. a noun qualified by a cardinal number (*v.* § 194) does not normally take the ending *-ān*, e.g.

Sul. 16 *dū ṟōž āya sē ṟōž*: two or three days
21 *lam ḫawt* kuṟay *sē* kuṟyān: three of these seven sons of his
44 *sē čwār* šaw: three or four nights
War. 194 *dū sē* ḫaywān: two or three animals

In all Sor. and Muk., however, a noun so qualified commonly does take the plural ending, e.g.

Bin. 340 *bīst ū ćwār sa'ātān*: twenty-four hours
352 *aw sē darkāna*: those three doors (*darka*)
Piž. 385 *sē rōžān*: three days
402 *dagal da nafarān*: with ten men
Muk. § 48 *ćwār kurān*: four boys

In Rdz. in this context the plural ending appears as *-ā* (cf. Ak., &c., *-ā(n)*, § 261 (*b*)), e.g.

Rdz. 491 *sē rōžā*: three days
493 *sē saḫātā*: three hours

§ 178. Of the nominal suffixes:

A. *-aká* (§ 174) B. *-án* (§ 177)
C. *ʿēk*, *ʿak* (§ 176) D. *-á* (§ 175)

the order of possible affixation to a noun is, for all dialects,

A B C D,

though A, C, and D are mutually exclusive. Thus the possibilities of combination are as follows:

A Sul. 36 *arzaka*: the ground
AB Piž. 382 *šitilakān*: the plants
Xoš. 451 *law wazīrakān*: of those viziers (*v.* § 175 (*b*))
B War. 209 *bāzē xalqān*: some people
Rdz. 504 *la wurāyān*: on horses
BC Sul. 4 *čaŋ kasānēk*: some persons
BD Sul. 78 am *kićāna*: these girls
Piž. 382 aw *šitilāna*: these plants
C Sul. 2 *sēwēk*: an apple
Xoš. 445 *dākak*: a mother
D Sul. 59 *dāpīra*: the old woman
Piž. 390 aw *āsina*: this iron

For combinations with other suffixes see §§ 187, 199.

Gender and Case

§ 179. (*a*) In Sul., War. there are no inflective morphemes,[1] and hence no distinction, of *grammatical* gender or case. In the system

[1] The ending *-á* with certain noun forms is not a case ending but an enclitic postposition (*v.* § 236 (*b*)).

of Vocative endings, however, a distinction of *natural* gender is observed (*v.* § 181 (*b*)). Otherwise the uninflected noun appears in all contexts.

(*b*) In all Sor. and Muk. a distinction of two grammatical genders is observed, viz. Masculine and Feminine. This distinction is manifest in the inflective Oblique case morphemes (*v.* § 180 (*b*))[1] and, in Bin., Piž. only, in the forms of the Izafe (*v.* § 183 (*a*)).

As in Sul., War. a distinction of natural gender is observed in the vocative endings.

Where a noun has natural gender the grammatical gender coincides with this. Otherwise it is largely unpredictable.

§ 180. (*a*) All Sor. dialects and Muk. present a declensional system of two cases, Direct and Oblique, in addition to the partial system of Vocative forms (q.v., § 181 (*b*)).

A noun in the Direct case may function as:

(i) Subject of a sentence or clause, or a Predicative noun,
(ii) Direct Affectee of a sentence or clause in the Agential construction (*v.* § 223).

Moreover, there is a general tendency, though varying in effect from one function to the next, for the Direct case form of a noun to replace the Oblique.

A noun in the Oblique case may be:

(i) Direct Object of a sentence or clause,
(ii) (in Sor. only) Agent of a sentence or clause in the Agential construction (*v.* § 224),
(iii) governed by a preposition,
(iv) following another noun with the Izafe (*v.* § 184), or following the Demonstrative Izafe (*v.* § 188),
(v) used adverbially.[2]

A noun in the Oblique case, when followed by the Izafe (*v.* § 182), does not take Oblique case endings. The Izafe is enclitic to the uninflected noun.

(*b*) A noun in its simplest form is in the Direct case. The Oblique case is marked by the addition to the singular noun of

[1] The distinction was demonstrated for Muk. in *BSOAS*, XVI. 539 ff.
[2] The examples at Muk. § 18 fall rather under category (iii). But cf. § 240 (*a*).

the morphemes, Masculine *-ī*, Feminine *-ē*. Plural nouns in *-ān* have no separate Oblique form. Thus:

	Sg. M.	F.	Pl. M. & F.
Dir.	-Ø	-Ø	*-ān*
Obl.	*-ī*	*-ē*	

Following a vowel the M. Sg. Obl. ending appears regularly as *-y*, e.g.

Bin. 315 *šaṙay bikā*: (who) might do battle

Very rarely *-ay* appears to be reduced to *-ē* (cf. § 87).

The F. Sg. Obl. ending *-ē* coalesces with preceding *a*, yielding *-ē*, e.g.

Bin. — *bō qalādizē*: for Qala Diza
308 *ba qisētān*: according to what you say (*qisa*)

but not with preceding *ē*, thus

Bin. 300 *la r̄ēē*: on the road

Following *ā* the ending *-ē* may appear as *-ya* (cf. § 59 (*a*)), e.g.

Piž. 398 *wālīy baγdāya*: the governor of Baghdad
Muk. 1^{28} *bō qal'ḍya*, 2^{14} *la qal'ḍyē*, in MS. both *qalâyä*

When a noun is followed by any of the suffixes of definition *-aká* (§ 174), *-á* (§ 175), *ʿēk*, *ʿak* (§ 176) the Oblique case ending is *-ī*/*-y* for both genders. Thus:

	Sg. M. & F.		
Dir.	*-aká*	*-á*	*ʿēk*/*ʿak*
Obl.	*-aký*	*-áy*	*ʿēkī*/*ʿakī*

(*c*) Examples of the Oblique case:

(i) as Direct Object,

Bin. — *j̄ūtī* (M.) *dakayn*: we plough
— *nwēžē* (F.) *dakan*: they pray
— *ḫakāyatēkī* (? F.) *dagērimawa*: I shall tell a story
316 *mamlakatī* (M.) *tēk bidā*: (he may) destroy the country
Muk. 4^{3} *āwē* (F.) *nafrōšē*: should not sell water

(ii) as Agent (*v.* § 224),

Bin. 319 *žin*akay (F.) *pēy gut*: the woman said to him
320 *pēy gut, patrūsyāy* (M.): Petrusya said to them

327 *xwāy* (M.) . . . *ḫātā kird*: God gave . . .
341 *arsalānī* (M.) *šīrēkī gayāndē*: Arselan struck him with a sword
348 *-y qisa kird* . . . *naḫmānī* (M.): Naaman said

(iii) governed by a preposition,

Bin. 319 *ba dim āwē* (F.): at the water's edge
349 *ba sūṙānawē*: (began) to drive (all infinitives F.)
353 *la ćī ṙōžēkīdā* (F.): on whatever day
Piž. 398 *bō xātirī žin*akay (F.): for the woman
Muk. 59[7] *ba kāka mamī* (M.): to brother Mem
6[21] *ba arzēdā*: to the earth } (*'arz* M./F.)
Bin. 312 *la 'arzī*: from the earth }
Muk. 7[18] *la rēą* } on the road (*rē* F.)
Bin. 300 *la rēē* }

(iv) following the Izafe or Demonstrative Izafe,

Bin. — *lapī dastī* (M.): palm of the hand
— *zīnī aspī* (M.): saddle of the horse
— *zīnī māīnē* (F.): saddle of the mare
304 *ī bāxawānakay* (M.): the gardener's
346 *'ašqī aw ḳićay* (F.): in love with that girl
357 *bargī qāwaćētīē*: clothes of the coffee-sellers' calling (all abstract nouns in *-ī* (*v.* § 255 (*a*)) F.)
Muk. 1[15] *mīwānī darwēšēkī* (M.): guest of a dervish
147[14] *āwī daznožē* (F.): ablution water
Arb. 425 *la panāy dārakī* (F.): under a tree

(v) with adverbial sense,

Muk. 3[4] *nīwašawē* (F.): at midnight
3[29] *qadirēkī* (? F.): for a while

Vocative

§ 181. (*a*) A noun in its uninflected form may serve as a vocative. All such vocatives are stressed on the first syllable, e.g.

Sul. — *bírā*: brother!
16 *ámōzā*: cousin!
35 *mál'ūn*: accursed one!
120 *áfrat*: wife!
120 *pyáwaka*: husband!
Muk. 151[11] *xátūn astí*: Lady Asti!

A vocative preceded by a particle, such as *ay*, *yā*, is generally uninflected, e.g.

Sul. 3 *ay áfrat*: O wife!
21 *áy kuř*: O lads!
53 *yá* xidrī *ziya*: O immortal Khidr!

Similarly a noun qualified by any determinant, or by a personal pronoun suffix (*v.* § 197), is otherwise uninflected in the vocative,[1] e.g.

Sul. — *kíčim, lagal tōma*: daughter, my (business) is with thee
4 birākān*im*: my brothers!
21 kuř*īm*: my lads!
89 kuřī *xōm*: my son!

In Muk. an uninflected plural vocative is formed with the word *galī* (**gal* 'group'+Izafe *-ī?*, cf. § 262 (*b*)), e.g.

Muk. 24[3] (MS.) gálī *ǧūān mērán*: O (group of) youths!

(*b*) Nouns denoting animate beings may take the following endings in the vocative:

Sg. M. & F. *-a* F. *-ē*[2] Pl. M. & F. *-īna*[3]

Examples:

Masculine

Sul. — *kúřa, matirsa*: don't be afraid, lad!
— *kéra, čīt awē*: blind man, what dost thou want?
52 *áy xwāya*: O God!
Muk. 20[9] *ábdālbaga*: Abdal Beg!

Feminine

Sul. — *púra šukrī*: 'Auntie' Shukri!
12 *dáya gyān*: mother dear!
— *kíčē, malarza*: don't tremble, lass!
— *bákē, gat lē bē*: daughter-in-law, pay thou heed!
Piž. 409, Muk. 100[11] *xúškē*: sister!

[1] The *-y* in War. 230 *kuřī lálay* 'cousin!' (literally, 'maternal uncle's son', but addressed to a girl, perhaps for politeness) is unexplained.

[2] These Sg. endings also appear forming hypocoristic names (cf. § 262 (*a*)), e.g. Masc. *míča* 'Mustafa', *qāla* 'Qadir', *xula* 'Mahmud', *řaša* 'Rashid', Fem. *fāta, fātē* 'Fatima', *pīza* 'Piroz', *xaǰē* 'Khadija'.

[3] Muk. generally *--ína*.

Plural
Sul. — *žínīna*: women!
— *kúr̄īna* (Muk. 188[28] *kur̄ína*): lads!
Bin. 326 *áy wazīrayna* [*sic*]: O viziers!
Muk. 97[28] *xizmína*: kinsmen!
150[29] *faqēná* [*sic*]: students! (*faqī*)

Izafe

§ **182.** All Kd. dialects possess particles the functions of which are mainly analogous to those of the NP. *iẓāfa*. These particles will be called generally Izafe.

The Izafe has three main functions:

(i) to connect a noun with a determinant immediately following it, be it an attributive adjective, a noun or pronoun in genitive relation to it or in apposition (*v.* §§ 184, 185),
(ii) to connect certain adjectives and nouns to their complements (*v.* § 186),
(iii) to act as a relative pronoun with a definite antecedent (*v.* § 243 (*b*)).

§ **183.** (*a*) The Izafe has the following forms:

Sul., War., Arb., Xoš. *-ī*;[1]
Bin., Piž., Muk.[2]

general (following M. & F., Sg. & Pl. nouns) *-ī*; Sg. F. only *-ē*, e.g.

Muk. 30[4] *xātūnē nawǰwāna*: fair young lady!
31[1] (MS.) *xuškē mīr zēndīnim*: I am Mir Zendin's sister

There is a tendency for the general form *-ī* to supplant the F. *-ē*, e.g.

Bin. — *bō māl̄ē ma*: to our house (*māl̄* F.)
— *la māl̄ī āšnāy ma*: in our friend's house

Very rarely the form *-ē* appears with a masculine noun, e.g.

Bin. 363 *nēwē xōšit*: thine own name (*nēw* M.)

Rdz. *-ī*/*-ē* without distinction of gender, e.g.

Rdz. — *bābī*/*ē min*: my father (*bāb* M.)
473 *nēčīrē xō*: (my) own prey (*nēčīr* F.)
474 *nēčīrī tū*: thy prey

[1] There is a trace of a former wider distribution of the F. Izafe form *-ē* in the following isolated, but regular, form:
Sul. 56 *pīrēžin*: old woman (but *pīramērd*: old man)

[2] Despite Muk. § 20, fn. 1.

(*b*) The general form *-ī* appears as *-y* following a vowel, e.g.

Sul. 2 *kābrāy r̄īšpī*: the grey-bearded fellow
Bin. 327 *la xōšīy awa*: for joy of that (*v.* § 60)

The form *-ē* coalesces with preceding *a*, e.g.

Bin. 337 *tōlē bābī xōm*: revenge for my father (*tōla* F.)

In Muk. (Muk. § 20, end), Rdz. the Izafe may appear as *-(y)a* following a vowel, e.g.

Rdz. 478 *birāya xō*: (my) own brother
484 *kursī*(y)a *min*: my seat

(*c*) In Bin., Piž., Muk., with an antecedent formally singular but with plural sense, or with two or more singular nouns joined by the conjunction *ū*, *w* 'and', the Izafe form *-ī* may be followed by a particle *da*, thus *-ī da*,[1] e.g.

Bin. 314 *wazīrī* da *min*: my viziers
319 *pyāwī* da *pāšā* . . . *ćūn*: the king's men went
349 *dāk ū bābī* da *tō*: thy mother and father
Piž. 404 *la tirsī* da *S.*: from fear of S. (cf. § 239 (*a*))
411 *ǰarg ū sīy daw kur̄aya*: that boy's liver and lights (*v.* § 236 (*c*) fn.)
Muk. 50^{12} *ama γarībīn, lawānī* da *bēgāna*: we are strangers, of those who are foreign
63^{15} *dan*^{i}*kī* da *hanārē*: pomegranate seeds
63^{25} *gulī* da *sosinē*: lily flowers
107^{8} *gōšay* da *maydānē*: corners [*sic*] of the field
136^{22} *la hartik čāwī* da *tū*: from both thy eyes

§ **184.** (*a*) When a noun, defined or otherwise, is qualified by an attribute or by another noun (cf. § 182 (i)) these follow the noun qualified and are normally joined to it by the Izafe,[2] e.g.

[1] Cf. Ak., &c., *-ē(t)* < *-ē dī*, § 264 (*a*).
[2] In War. the Izafe is occasionally omitted, even before an attribute, e.g.
War. 237 *dargāy māl*( ) *bēžin*: the door of the widow's house
This is perhaps influenced by the compound prepositions with *māl*, e.g.
War. 246 *čūyna* māł *ǰāfir bag*: we went to the house of J.
246 la māł *ḫāǰī* . . *būyn*: we were in the house of Haji
The majority of such cases are marked by the presence of the suffix *-ē(k)*, e.g.
War. 200 la *šonē*( ) *tir*: in another place
206 *ḫatā baynē*( ) *da* . . . *šaw*: for a period of some ten days

(i) Attribute,

Sul. 5 *kābrāyakī rīšspī*: a grey-bearded fellow
7 *māmay rīšspī*: the grey-bearded 'uncle'
69 *tūtikēkī pičkōla*: a little dog

(ii) Genitive noun or pronoun (*v.* § 180 (*a*)),

Sul. 43 *xānūy ēma*: our house
49 *sarī binīādam*: men's heads
55 *xizmakārī wulāxakat*: thy horse's servant
69 *mālī kičī islāmšāy parīān*: the house of the daughter of Islam Shah of the Peris
War. 188 *kāsibīy mālī xōmān*: the work of our own house
Bin. 318 *žinē malikšāy*: Malikshah's wife
Piž. 384 *čaqāndinē šitilakān*: the planting of the seedlings
394 *kafīlīē aḫmadī*: bail for Ahmed

(iii) Appositional noun,

Sul. 9 *tawqēkī āltūn*: a collar of gold
86 *hayāsī birāt*: thy brother Heyas
War. 188 *minālī ṛafīqim*: the children, my friends
199 *zalāmī sāḫēwī ǰūtakān*: men (who are) owners of a pair (of plough-oxen)

(*b*) A noun may be qualified by more than one attribute. In such a case each attribute may be connected to the foregoing by the Izafe or by the conjunction *ū*, *w* 'and', e.g.

Sul. — *kičēkī ǰwānī čwārda-sāl*: a beautiful, fourteen-year-old girl (i.e. 'sweet sixteen')
— *minālēkī pīs ū pōxīl*: a filthy, dirty child
Bin. 306 *ǰēēkī kay wā*: such another place
354 *arsalānī je-gawray xānadān*: the noble, highborn Arselan

(*c*) A noun in partitive relation to another is not normally followed by the Izafe, e.g.

Sul. — *handē ǰār*: sometimes (a few times)
P *naxtē/kamē pāqla*: some, a few beans
29 *yak hagba pāra*: a bag of money
35 *tōzēk binēšt*: a little mastic
57 *yak mist āltūn*: a handful of gold

War. 230 *čil tanaka nawt*: forty (4-gallon) cans of paraffin
265 *čwār fawj 'askar*: four battalions of soldiers
Bin. 303 *sē kūpa āltūn*: three crocks of gold
Muk. 97[33] *pārwēk nān ū čōrēk āw*: a morsel of bread and a sip of water

but, exceptionally,

Bin. 326 *čand 'adadēkī ḫaskar*: some soldiers

§ 185. (*a*) In Sul., War., all Sor., and Muk. an alternative construction to that described in § 184 exists. A noun qualified by an attributive adjective or another noun may form an 'open' compound with the qualifier, which follows the qualified noun and is joined to it by a compound vowel *a*. After *ē*, *ø*, *a*, *ā*, *ō*, however, no compound vowel is realized (*v.* § 171 (*c*)).

Examples:

Sul. 25 *kuṙa pāšā*: the king's son
42 *birā gawra*: eldest brother
56 *fūta swār*: a pair of riders
War. 190 *kuṙa muxtār*: the headman's son
204 *birā gawraka*: the elder brother
Muk. 24 *kāka mam*: Brother Mem
6[6] *nīwa laš*: half of his body

(*b*) It is not possible to specify accurately all the conditions in which each construction may appear. In many cases either construction seems to be possible, e.g.

Sul. 2 *bāla gardānī sari* } the wing circling about thy head
13 *bālī gardānī sari* } (i.e. 'thy protector')

The open compound construction is essential when the *qualified noun phrase* is defined by either of the suffixes *-aká*, *-á*, e.g.

Sul. 13 *am naw'a štānā*: these sorts of thing
25 *am hamū štūmaka ǰwānā*: all this fine stuff
39 *aw xēwata sawzā*: that green tent
40 *xēwata sawzaka*: the green tent
181 *dāyk ū bāwka pīra faqīrakay*: his poor old mother and father
Piž. 390 *sara astūraka*: the thick end

Muk. 6^{15} *bĕčūa wurčaka*: the wolf cub
25^{13} *aw dinyā xōšá*: this pleasant world
Xoš. 461 *pišta wurāyaka*: the horse's back

The compound may also take the suffix *-ēk, -ak*, e.g.

Sul. E *čašna āwēnayak*: a kind of mirror
E *kilka karēk*: a donkey's tail
Muk. 174^{24} *gaza ǰāwēk*: an ell of cotton cloth

Without a suffix it may have an indefinite plural sense, e.g.

Sul. 44 *birā pičūk . . . būn*: the younger brothers became . . .

§186. Certain adjectives and nouns, particularly those forming part of compound verbs (*v.* § 234), are joined to their complement by the Izafe, e.g.

Sul. 7 *pīšānī ēmat dā*[1]: you showed (*pīšān dān*) us
23 *pēškašī kuŕay bikay*: you present (*pēškaš kirdin*) it to his son
66 *swārī ŕaxš būˉ*: he mounted (*swār būn*) his steed
67 *tūšī am darda*: afflicted (*tūš*) by this trouble
Piž. 396 *taslīmī . . . maḥmūdī kirdˉ*: he surrendered (*taslīm kirdin*) him to Mahmud
Muk. 3^{25} *xarīkī bazmī dabūn*: they would be engaged (*xarīk būn*) in feasting

§ 187. In conjunction with the series of suffixes

A. *-aká*, B. *-án*, C. *-ēk, -ak*, D. *-á* (*v.* § 178),

the order of possible suffixation of

E. the case endings *-ī, -ē* (§ 180 (*b*)),
and F. the Izafe *-ī, -ē* (§ 183),
is, for all dialects, A B C D (*E*) *F*,

though B and E, and E and F, are mutually exclusive. Thus the possibilities of combination are

AE Bin. 303 *la bāxakaydā*: in the garden
AF Sul. E *bāxakay tō dīt*: the garden you saw
ABF Sul. E *šārakānī xōyān*: their own towns
BF Sul. — *pālawānānī kurd*: Kurdish champions
BDF Sul. — *aw šitānay tō dīt*: those things you saw

[1] Agential construction, *v.* § 223.

CE	Muk.	3[20]	*qadirēkī*: for a while
CF	Sul.	2	*kābrāyakī ʔīšpī*: a white-bearded fellow
DE	Piž.	384	aw *šawway*: that night
DF	Arb.	414	aw *xawnay . . . gēʔātawa*: that dream which you related
E	Bin.	349	*la pāpōrē*: in a steamboat
F	Bin.	356	*nēwī xōm*: my name

Demonstrative Izafe

§ 188. In all Kd. dialects an independent Demonstrative Izafe occurs, related in form to the enclitic Izafe but with different functions.

The Demonstrative Izafe has the following forms (cf. § 183 (*a*)):

Sul.	*hī*
War.	*hī(n)*
Muk., Arb., Xoš.	*ī*
Bin., Piž.	*ī*, (*ʔ ē*), *ī da* (cf. § 183 (*c*))
Rdz.	*ī/ē*

It may appear before:

(i) a noun or pronoun, to which it gives a possessive meaning, or
(ii) an adjective, giving it a definite, 'substantive' sense.

Examples: (i)

Sul.	—	hī *birāy min*: that of my brother, my brother's
	—	hī *kē*: whose?
	—	hī *ēma*: ours
War.	—	hīn *māŋā*: the cow's
	199	hī *bāwbāpīra gawramāna*: it is our ancestors'
	200	hī *kasēkī wakū F.*: that of someone like F.
Bin.	333	**tarbīatī swārīē w ī pālawānīē*: the learning of horsemanship and that of wrestling
	379	*dastī ʔā takānd, ī amīršangī*: he jerked his hand, that of Amirsheng
Muk.	242[29]	ī *xōm la ī tū pitira*: mine is bigger than thine
Rdz.	501	*mārē minīš . . . ē birāē minīš*: my house . . . my brother's too

(ii)

Sul.	—	hī *gawra*: the big one
	—	hī *šīn*: the blue one

Piž. — ī da *dīšin han*[1]: we have other ones too
Muk. 212[15] ī *gawra* . . . ī *čikōla*: the elder . . . the younger
Rdz. — ī *dī bīna*, ī *nū*: bring another, a new one

ADJECTIVES

§ 189. Attributive adjectives, which like adjectives employed predicatively are uninflected in all dialects, normally follow the noun they qualify, either with the Izafe (§ 184) or in the open compound construction (§ 185).

Adjectives may be used, in their uninflected form, as adverbs, e.g.

Sul. — *bāyakī* tuŋ: a fierce wind
36 tuŋ *mačakī girt*: he seized his wrist firmly

With the appropriate inflexional endings, adjectives may act as substantives, e.g.

Sul. — *nāwī* gawra, *dē wērān*: a great name (but) a ruinous village
— gawra*m*: my master!
— gawra*y* *'ēl*: the leader of the tribe

Conversely, a small number of nouns may be employed much as attributive adjectives, e.g.

Sul. — *kar*: donkey
— *pyāwēkī* kar: a stupid fellow

Comparison

§ 190. (*a*) The morpheme *-tir* added to the simple adjective form yields the comparative adjective. This behaves exactly as a positive adjective, e.g.

attributively: Sul. — *šāxēkī barztir*: a higher mountain
predicatively: 30 *ama* . . . *ǰwāntira*: this one is more beautiful
adverbially: 47 *zūtir ačē*: goes quicker
substantively: 45 *la min ǰwāntir*: one more beautiful than me

The only irregularity in the formation of a comparative adjective attested is in Sor., Muk. § 32 *čātir* 'better', from *čāk* 'good'.

[1] A shibboleth phrase containing three particularly Piž. forms. See also §§ 197 (*-ín*), 218 (*han*).

(*b*) The morpheme *-īn* added to the comparative adjective forms the superlative adjective (cf. § 195 (*b*)). This, unlike the positive and comparative adjectives, immediately precedes the noun it qualifies, e.g.

Sul. P *bō āzātirīn sarbāz*: for the bravest soldier

(*c*) *har*, combined with another adjective and the qualified noun in the open compound construction (§ 185), gives the adjective a superlative sense, e.g.

Sul. E *qisna hara ǰwānaka*: the finest tomb (*qisn*: 'dry stone wall')

Certain adjectives

§ 191. (*a*) Adjectives of the following categories immediately precede the noun they qualify:

(i) the demonstrative adjectives (*v.* § 192),
(ii) cardinal numbers (*v.* § 194),
(iii) superlative (§ 190 (*b*)) and ordinal (*v.* § 195 (*b*)) adjectives in *-īn*,
(iv) the following interrogative and indefinite adjectives (cf. §§ 176 (*c*), 177 (*a*)),

War. *bāzē* 'some' (Ar. *ba'ḍ*)
čī 'what(ever), whichever'
War. *čan*, Sul. *čan/ŋ*, Sor. & Muk. *čand* 'how(ever) much, some' (as an adverb 'how . . .')
filān(a), Arb., &c., *firān* 'such and such'
gišt 'all'
Sul., War. *hīč*, Sor. & Muk. also *čī*[1] 'any'
hamū, Arb. also *hamī* 'all, each, every'
har, harčī, harč, hač 'any, whatever'
kām 'which(ever)'

but not

ka, tir, dī(ka), dika 'other'
wā, wahā, awhā, wa, awa 'such'

zōr, War. *fira* 'many, much' may either precede or follow the noun qualified.

[1] Muk. *čī* 'any' is probably a mishearing of *čī*, e.g.
Muk. 4[14] *čī ǰēm nia*, but 3[34] *či ǰēm nia*: 'I have no place'.

(*b*) Examples of interrogative and indefinite adjectives.

War. 209 bāzē *xalqān*: some people
Sul. 2 *ba* či *dardē giriftārī*: with what ill art thou troubled?
17 *la* či *šonēkā*: in whichever place
War. 208 čan *fīlspīyak*: some elders
Sul. 4 čaŋ . . ., 8 čan *muddatēk*: some time
Bin. 326 čand *'adadēkī ḫaskar*: some soldiers (cf. § 184 (*c*))
Sul. P čan *ƒaš bū*: how black it was!
Sul. 16 *la* filāna *mawqi'ā*
Bin. 303 *la* filān *šondā* } in such and such place
Sul. P gišt *mindālakān*: all the children
Sul. 58 hīč *kasēk nāwērē*: nobody dares
Bin. 362 či *yadrim* . . . *nakirduwa*: I have not done any harm
Sul. 13 hamū *šitēk*: everything
Bin. 322 hamū *sālēk*: each year
War. 200 har *kasēk*
Sul. 11 hač *kasēk* } whoever
Bin. 318 hać *mawqīḫēk*: wherever
Sul. P kām *astēray gaš*: which bright star

but,

Sul. — *šitī* wā *nīa*: there is no such thing
— *yakēkī* ka
Arb. 426 *yakakī* dika } another one

Sul. — zōr *ƒār*
War. — fira *ƒār* } many times, often

but,

Sul. P *pāray* zōr, *kalkī čīa*: what is the use of much money?

Demonstrative adjectives

§ **192.** (*a*) Sul., War. have two inflexible demonstrative adjectives, *am* 'this', *aw* 'that'. A noun, singular or plural, qualified by either of these is normally followed by the defining suffix *-á* (§ 175).

All Sor. and Muk. have only one demonstrative adjective *aw* 'this, that'. The form *am* 'this' appears in Bin. as a loan from Sul., e.g.

Bin. 299 *lam īšānay*: from these works

(*b*) In Bin., Piž. the general demonstrative adjective *aw*, qualifying an oblique plural noun, may also take the ending *-ān*, in which case the noun does not take the suffix *-á*, e.g.

Piž. 399, Muk. 4[1] *law qisāná*: from these words (*qisa*)

but,

Bin. 378 *lawān qisāndā*: in these words
330 *bō awān swārān*: for those horsemen

In Piž., Muk. the general demonstrative adjective *aw*, when qualifying a feminine singular oblique noun, may take an oblique ending *-ē*,[1] in which case the noun also takes the oblique ending *-ē* (§ 180 (*b*)) and not the suffix *-á*, e.g.

Bin. 346 *'alqī* aw *kićay*: in love with that girl

but,

Piž. — awē *kičē wāy kird*[2]: that girl did thus
— *čū bō* aw *mālay* } went to that house
— *čū bō* awē *mālē* }
Muk. 99[18] *bawē birīnē*: from this wound
passim, awē *šawē*: (on) that night

In Arb., Rdz., Xoš. a noun qualified by *aw*,

(i) takes the suffix *-á* only when it is 'proximate', i.e. indicates something physically near or which has already been referred to in narrative, e.g.

Arb. — aw *kuṙa*: this boy
Rdz. 475 *sē birā lagarim haya*, aw *sē birāyāna*: there are three brothers with me, these three brothers . . .

(ii) takes the suffix *-ēhē*[3] when it indicates something physically remote, e.g.

Arb. — aw *kuṙēhē*: that boy yonder

(iii) takes no suffix when it refers to something absent, e.g.

Arb. — aw *kuṙ*: that boy
435 aw *birāyānī min*: those brothers of mine

[1] The resulting *awē* is not, therefore, with Mann, Muk. § 38, the general oblique case form of the adjective but a specifically Feminine oblique.
[2] Cf. § 180 (*c*) (ii).
[3] Cf. Sur. *awēhē* § 277, there alone analysable as **awa+-ē+hē*.

Numerals

Cardinal

§ 193

	Sul., War.	Bin., Piž.	Muk. § 48	Rdz., Xoš.	Arb.
1	*yak*	*yak, ēk*	*yak, yēk*	*ēk*	*yak, ēk*
2	*dū, dūān, dwān*	—[1]	—		—
3	*sē, syān*	—	*sē, sēān*		—
4	*čwār*	—	*čūār*		*ćār*
5	*pēnj*	—	*pʿēnj*		*pēnj*
6	*šaš*	—	—		—
7	*ḥawt* (v. § 31)	—	—		*ḥ|ʿaft*
8	*hašt*	—	—		—
9	*nō*	—	—		—
10	*da*	—	—		—
11	*yāyza* (§ 24 (*b*))	*yāzda*	*yāz(d)a*	*yāzda*	—
12	*dw|ūāyza*	*dwāzda*	*dūāzda*		—
13	*syāyza*	*sēzda*	—		—
14	*čwārda*	—	*čūārda*		*ćārda*
15	*pāyza*	*pāzda*	—		—
16	*šāyza*	*šāzda*	—		—
17	*ḥavda* (§ 5)	—	*ḥawda*		*ḥ|ʿavda*
18	*hažda*	—	—		—
19	*nōzda*	—	—		—
20	*bist*	—	—		—
21	*bist ū yak*	—	—		—
30	*sī*		—		—
40	*čil*		—		*ćil*
50	*panjā*		*pʿēnjā*		*pa|ēnjā*
60	*šast* (§ 10 (*b*))		*šēst*		—
70	*ḥaftā*		*haftā*	*ḥaftā*	*ḥ|ʿaftē*
80	*haštā*		*haštā|ē*		*haštē*
90	*nawad*		*nowat*		*nōhat*
100	*sad* (§ 10 (*b*))		*sat*		—
200	*dūsad*		*dū sat*		
300	*sēsad*				
400	*čwārsad*				
500	*pēnsad*		*pēnsat*		
600	*šašsad*				
700	*ḥawsad*				
800	*hašsad*				
900	*nōsad*				
1,000	*hazār*				
1 m.	*milyōn* (§ 36)				

[1] — signifies 'the same form as that noted to the left'.

§ 194. (*a*) Cardinals immediately precede the noun they qualify. In Sul., War. a noun so qualified normally does not take the ending *-ān* (§ 177 (*c*)), while in all Sor. and Muk. it normally does.

A cardinal, other than 'one', appearing independently may take the plural ending *-ān*, e.g.

War. 227 *syān bū, čwār bū*: (whether) it was three or four
237 *sālē, dūān*: a year or two
Muk. § 48 *čūārān, dūāzdān*: 4, 12

(*b*) With certain numbers (generally round numbers—tens, hundreds, &c.) the qualified noun may take an ending *-ī*, giving the sense of 'about . . .',[1] e.g.

Bin. 311 *tamanī ḫawt haŝt sālī*: the age of about seven or eight years
Xoš. 459 *ba qadar bīst wurāyī*: to the extent of some twenty horses

(*c*) The repetition of the cardinal numbers, with or without the plural ending *-ān*, gives a distributive sense, e.g.

War. 197 *hamū* yaka yaka *w* dwān dwān *ū* čwār čwār *ačin*: they all go by ones and twos and fours

Ordinal

§ 195. (*a*) Ordinal numbers are formed directly from the cardinals by the addition of the ending *-am*, e.g.

Sul. — *yak*am 'first', *pēnǰ*am 'fifth', *bīst*am 'twentieth'

Following *ē, a, ā, ō* an *h* is realized before the ending *-am*, e.g.

Sul. — *sē*ham (also *sē*yam) 'third'
*na*ham (also *na*yam), *nō*ham 'ninth'
*da*ham (also *da*yam) 'tenth', *yāŋza*ham 'eleventh'
*panǰā*ham 'fiftieth'

These ordinals follow the qualified noun with the Izafe, e.g.

Sul. 47 *rēgāy sēham*: the third road

(*b*) The ordinal adjective in *-am* may further take the ending *-īn* (cf. § 190 (*b*)), e.g.

Sul. — *yak*amīn 'first', *pēnǰ*amīn 'fifth'
also *awwal*amīn 'first' (Ar. *awwal*)

With cardinals ending in *a, ā* this ending normally takes the form *-mīn*, not **-hamīn*, e.g.

Sul. — *šāŋza*ham : *šāŋza*mīn 'sixteenth'
*ḫaftā*ham : *ḫaftā*mīn 'seventieth'

[1] Contrast the adverbial *-ī*, § 240 (*b*).

The ordinal adjective in *-(a)mīn* immediately precedes the noun it qualifies (*v.* § 191 (*a*) (iii)), e.g.

Sul. — *yakamīn ǰār*: the first time

In Rdz., corresponding to general *-amīn*, the form *-amē* occurs. This follows the noun qualified (cf. Ak., &c., *-ē*, § 274), e.g.

Rdz. 474 *ǰārī sēyamē*: the third time

PRONOUNS

Personal

Independent

§ 196. (*a*) Sul., War., all Sor., and Muk. present systems of six personal pronouns, each with an independent and a suffix form (q.v. § 197). All Sor. and Muk. have further independent oblique forms for all persons and, in Bin., Piž., one additional person. Thus:

	Sul., War.	Bin., Piž.	Muk., Arb., Rdz., Xoš.
Direct			
Sg. 1	*min*	*amin*	*amin*
2	*tō*	*atō/ū*	*atō/ū*,[1] Arb. *atū*
3	*aw*[2]	*(h)aw*	*aw*[3]
Pl. 1	*(h)ēma*	*ama*	*ama*
2	*ēwa*	*awa*	*angō*
3	*awān*	*awān*	*awān*
Oblique			
Sg. 1		*(a)min*	*(a)min*[5]
2		*(a)tō/ū*	*(a)tō/ū*, Arb. *(a)tū*
3 M.		*(a)wī*	*(a)wī*
3 F.		*(a)wē*[4]	
Pl. 1		*(a)ma*	*(a)ma*
2		*(a)wa*	*(a)ngō*[6]
3		*(a)wān*	*(a)wān*

NOTES:

(1) Mann consistently writes 2nd Sg. *(a)tú*. There is evidence within his texts, however, that this represents, in conformity with the Sor. dialects, *(a)tū*, e.g. the rhyme at Muk. 136[19] ff. *dūa* : *atua* : *ǧūa* : *tua*.

In all Sor., except Arb., and in Muk. *(a)tō* and *(a)tū* alternate freely, regardless of case, e.g.

Bin. 315 *ɬaṙay lagaɬ* tō *bikā*: (who) might fight with thee
321 tō *lēy dagaṙēy*: (whom) thou art seeking
325 atū *bō . . . hātīawa*: why hast thou returned?
325 *ɣabarim bō* tū *hēnāwatawa*: I have brought news for thee

Muk. 1^{23} atu *xalqī køy*: of where art thou a native?
6^{29} atōš . . . *dabam*: I shall take thee
7^{2} atōš *wara*: come thou too!
30^{7} *čāwī* tū [*sic*]: thine eyes

(2) The 3rd Sg. independent pronoun is identical in form with the remote demonstrative adjective *aw* (*v.* § 192 (*a*)). In Sul., War. the proximate demonstrative adjective form *am* may also appear as a 3rd Sg. personal pronoun. Both forms may also function as 3rd Pl. personal pronouns with the ending *-ān*, thus:

Sg. 3 *aw*, (*am*) 'he, she, it', Pl. 3 *awān*, (*amān*) 'they', e.g.
Sul. 31 aw *gāwira*: he is an infidel
9 awānīš, 76 amānīš: they too

(3) Mann, Muk. § 37. 'Für den Nominativ [3rd Sg. pers. pron.] tritt meist das Demonstrativum *ay* ein.' But *aw* is an adjectival form of the demonstrative, requiring the noun qualified to take a suffix *-á* (*v.* § 192 (*a*)), while, as Mann rightly states Muk. § 38: 'Alleinstehend, substantivisch gebraucht, lautet das Pronomen [demons.] ursprünglich stets *awá*.' Thus *aw* here should be recognized as the direct case of an independent *personal* pronoun.

Muk. § 37, 3rd Sg. direct *awī* is perhaps best explained as an encroachment of the oblique form. Alternatively *-ī* may be an Izafe.

(4) The 3rd Sg. masculine oblique form *(a)wī* may replace the feminine oblique *(a)wē* even in Bin., Piž., e.g.

Bin. 344 *nīšānī* wī *biday wakū amin bō* wī *sūtāwim*: show her that I am burning for her

(5) The doubly oblique forms *aminī*, *atōī*, &c., quoted by Mann, Muk. §§ 33–35, appear unreal. All the examples quoted Muk. § 36 contain, as Mann's footnote admits, the 3rd Sg. personal pronoun suffix *-ī* (q.v. § 197). But note

Xoš. 448 aminī *dakužin*: they will kill me

(6) *-ngō* may only occur enclitically.

(*b*) The independent personal pronoun forms have the same functions as the corresponding nominal case forms (*v.* §§ 179 (*a*), 180 (*a*)).

In the oblique case the full forms, *amin*, &c., appear mainly in the functions of the Direct Object and (in Bin., Piž. only) of the Agent in the Agential construction. The short forms, *min*, &c., with the exception of *-ngō*, appear in all the functions of the oblique case.

Examples:

Bin. — awē *wāy kird*: she (Agent) did thus
325 *nawakū ƒa sar* tōš *bidā*, atōš *bikūžē*: lest he fall on thee too, kill thee too
Muk. 6[2] *darxwārdī* wī *dadā*: he would feed her
58[20] *dagal* awī: with her
Xoš. 465 *dasgīrānī* wī *dētin*: her fiancé comes

(*c*) When an independent personal pronoun of the 1st or 2nd person appears as the Direct Affectee of the Agential construction (*v.* § 223), or as the complement of the substantive verb, then the verb does not agree with it in person but appears in the 3rd person singular, i.e. as if the pronoun were a noun,[1] e.g.

Sul. — min*it dīwa* = *dīwitim*[2]: thou hast seen me
— ēma*t dīwa* = *dīwitīn*[2]: thou hast seen us
20 minī *bō čīa*: what am I to him?
35 *tōyān nārduwa*: they have sent thee
68 *ka* mintān *māra kird*: when you married me (off)

Similarly with the verb *wīstin* (*v.* § 220),

Sul. P *azānī min tōm čand xōš awēt*: thou knowest how much I love thee

The agreement of the verb is exceptional in

War. 214 ēma *ḥaftā w awana pālawānī kuštīn*: he has killed us seventy or so champions

[1] See also § 242 (*d*) and Muk. § 92.
[2] See § 228.

Suffix

§ 197. (*a*) The personal pronoun suffixes have the following forms:

	General	Additional	
Sg. 1	*-im* (*-m*)[1]		
2	*-it* (*-t*)[2]	Sul., War. *-u* (*-w*)	
3	*-ī* (*-y*)		
Pl. 1	*-mān*	Piž., Muk., and	*-in* (*-n*)[3]
2	*-tān*	remaining Sor.	*-ū* (*-w*)
3	*-yān*		

NOTES:

(1) The forms in parenthesis appear after a vowel. When the suffix is followed by another enclitic the unstressed vowel of *-im*, *-it* is not normally realized (*v.* § 41 (*c*)). Regarding the realization of *-y* after *ī*, see § 60.

(2) See § 7 (*c*). In Sul., War. the 2nd Sg. form frequently appears as *-ṯ* in postvocalic, and reduced to *-i* in postconsonantal position.

Also in Sul., War. a 2nd Sg. form *-u* (*-w*) is occasionally heard (to be distinguished from the Piž., &c., 2nd *Pl.* form *-ū*, *-w*).[1] This may be no more than a phonetic variant of *-i* conditioned by the proximity of a back vowel or a bilabial consonant (*v.* § 55 (*b*)). The frequency of its occurrence with *kuštin* is noteworthy.

Examples:

Sul. — *dasu bišō*: wash thy hands!
13 *čāwu pē bikawē*: that thy eye may behold
51 *nāwkužim, alqayak akama gət, aṯkam ba 'abdī xōm*: I shall not kill thee, I shall put a ring in thy ear, make thee my slave
War. 218 *pēṯ bizānē palpalit akā*: if he finds out about thee he will chop thee up
273 *bō nāwkušt*: why hast thou not killed it?
284 *awwā*: will take thee
290 *ḫakāyatī xōmu bō akam*: I shall tell thee my story

[1] The similar form *-o*, given for the *Sinaṯ* dialect in Mokri,

Songs 232 *haft peshto*: seven generations of thy forebears
247 *dino namāga*: thy faith has gone

may only be a representation of [i, iə̯]. Cf. 323 *bowhār-* for *[baə̯ka:ɛ] *baḏhār*.

(3) The Piž., Muk., and, less commonly, Sor. forms Pl. 1 *-in*, Pl. 2 *-ū* alternate freely with the general forms *-mān*, *-tān*.

(*b*) The suffix personal pronouns may fulfil the functions of a pronoun:

(i) in genitive relation to a noun (*v.* § 200),
(ii) Direct Object of a transitive verb in the present tenses,
(iii) Agent of a transitive verb in the past tenses (*v.* § 225),
(iv) governed by a preposition (*v.* § 237),
(v) with dative sense (*v.* §§ 218 (*a*), 220 (*a*), 239 (*b*)).

Examples:

(i) Genitive relation,

Sul. P *la barīawa dā nīštuwin*: they are seated in front of him
1 *waʃāxī kər abē*: he has no offspring (lit. 'his hearth is blind')
9 *aw āsikayān*: that gazelle of them
69 *la ʃyātī dāyktān*: instead of your mother
Piž. 393 *kayfī xōwa*: it is your own pleasure
Muk. 103[22] *sabrū bibē*: let patience be yours

(ii) Direct Object,

Sul. 10 *ḫayfa biykužīn*: it is a pity, that we should kill it
10 *wīstī . . . biygirē*: he wanted to catch it
20 *ḫaz akā ka bitbīnē*: he would like to see thee
Piž. 402 *datbam*: I shall take thee

(iii) Agent,

Sul. 2 *dastī birda bāxalī, sēwēkī dar hēnā, dāya das pāšā*: he put his hand into his bosom, took out an apple, put it in the king's hand
Piž. 380 *mālin bār kirdin*: we loaded up (our) homes

(iv) Governed by a preposition,

Sul. 17 *bōy bēna*: bring . . . for him
Bin. 351 *lēt mumbārak bē*: may it be fortunate for thee
Muk. 1[26] *zōrit čāka dagal dakam*: I shall do much good for thee
63[22] *nanbē nēwān*: let there not be between us . . .
167[32] *lēn*: against us

(v) Dative,

Sul. E *am pārayat čōn čiy kawtuwa*: how has this money fallen into thy hands?
P *wēnay čāw pē kawt*[1]: he caught sight of the picture
P *malāyān pīlān adā*: he points the mullah out to them
10 *hatā mumkīn*mān *abē* (cf. 10 *hatā bōmān mumkīn bibē*): as far as it may be possible for us
101 *ḫaqī jīlī akawē*: the price of the clothes is due (falls) to him

§ 198. The personal pronoun suffixes are affixed directly to a noun to which they stand in genitive relation (*v.* § 200). This is also true when the noun forms part of a compound preposition (*v.* § 238).

When fulfilling any of the other functions listed in § 197 (*b*) above, a pronominal suffix is affixed to whichever word of the following categories appears earliest in the clause:[2]

(i) an independent noun, pronoun or adjective which is either
  (α) the Direct Object, or Affectee (§ 223), or its complement, of a transitive verb,
  or, in certain circumstances, is
  (β) the Subject, or its complement, of an intransitive verb;
(ii) a noun or pronoun governed by a preposition, i.e. the Indirect Object, or Affectee, of a transitive verb;
(iii) an absolute prepositional form (*v.* § 237);
(iv) the verb, with the limitation that this can support only one such pronominal suffix. It is then suffixed to the first of whichever of the following possible components of a verbal form is present:
  (α) a preverb (*v.* § 235) or other word forming a compound verb (*v.* § 234),
  (β) a negative or modal affix (*v.* § 206),
  (γ) the verbal stem or participle, or an auxiliary (*v.* § 227).

[1] This construction often appears, deceptively, to have *čāw* 'eye' qualified by a possessive (genitive) suffix, e.g.
Sul 27 *čāwim pē akawē*: I shall see her
34 *ka . . . čāwyān bam nawǰwāna kawt*: when they beheld this youth
but 20 *min bāy akā, čāwim pē bikawē*: he summons me that he may see *me*

[2] E. has a different exposition at *BSOAS*, XVII. 490 ff.

Examples:

(i. β) Sul. E *am pārayat čōn čiy kawtuwa*: how has this money fallen into thy hands?

(i. β) Bin. 343 *šiklēkī zōr ǰwānī lē ćasp kirābū*: a very beautiful picture was stuck to it

[but, despite the presence of (i. β),

(iii) Sul. — *aw kuŕa zōr lēm nāčē*: that boy does not look much like me]

(i. α) — *ēwa ba pēy qānūn am zawīatān la ēma war nagirt*: you did not obtain this land from us legally

(ii) — *ba pēy qānūn la ēmatān war nagirt*
(iii) *lēmāntān war nagirt*
(iii) *lētān war nagirtīn*
} you did not obtain it from us legally

(iv. α) — *ba pēy qānūn wartān nagirt*: you did not obtain it legally

(iv. α) — *wartān nagirt* (*lēmān*): you did not obtain it (from us)

(iv. α) — *ŕām naakird*: I used not to run away

(iv. β) — *namakird*: I used not to do (so)

(iv. β) — *amkird*: I used to do (so)

(iv. γ) — *kirdim*: I did (so)

(iv. γ) — *kirduwma*: I have done (so) (v. § 227)

A pronoun suffix may also be attached to certain adverbs, e.g. *zōr* 'much' in

Sul. P *zōrī ḫaz la qumār akird*: he was greatly addicted to gambling

Muk. 1[26] *zōrit čāka dagal dakam*: I shall do thee much good

§ 199. In conjunction with the affixes already listed (§§ 178, 187)

A. *-aká*, B. *-án*, C. *-ēk*, *-ak*, D. *-á*, E. *-ī*, *-ē* Obl.

the order of possible suffixation to a noun of

G. *-im*, *-it*, *-ī*, *-mān*, *-tān*, *-yān* in genitive relation to it,

and H. the same in any other function,

is, for Sul., all Sor. and Muk. A B C D (E) *G H*,
for War. also, A B C *G H* D.

E and H are mutually exclusive.

Examples: Sul., &c.

AG	Sul.	3	*māīn*akay: his mare
AGH	Sul.	25	*xuš*kakatānim *dāwa*: I have given your sister
ABG	ul.	4	*birā*kānim: my brothers!
ABH	ul.	12	*ʕafīq*akānim *ba ǰē hēltuwa*: I have left my friends behind
CGH	Sul.	74	*čāw*ēkitim *bidarē*: give me one of your eyes
CH	Sul.	155	*kič*ēkyān *nadāynē*: they did not give us a girl
DE	Bin.	—	aw *bard*ay *bēna*: bring that stone
DH	Bin.	—	aw *bard*am *bidaya*: give me that stone
DG	Sul.	25	am *čwār kuʕ*ay: these four sons of his
EG	Bin.	—	*xulkī* dākēm: my mother's sister
G	Sul.	27	*čāw*im: my eye
H	Sul.	74	*pyālay āw*im *bidarē*: give me a glass of water

Wārmāwa

AH	War.	—	*kalawar*akam *kirdō*: I opened the door
BGD		249	am *gorēžā*nima: these donkeys of mine
GD		224	am *kuʕ*ima: this son of mine
[DH		214	am *harakat*ay *kird*: he exerted this power]
HD		274	am *palpi*ta *lē nagirtāyam*: would you had not got this pretext from me
GH		189	*ǰūtī mālī xō*mānim *akird*: I used to do the ploughing for our own home

Cf. *Sinaī*, in Mokri, Songs,

GD		232, 286	*law dam*ta: from that mouth of thine
HD	Mann, MS.		am *xawarīa žinaft*: he heard this news

This displacement of the suffix *-á*, partial only in War., is characteristic of the more southerly dialects. See further §§ 202 (*a*) fn. 1, 209 (*a*) fn.

§ 200. A noun qualified by a personal pronoun suffix in genitive relation to it may or may not be further defined by the suffix *-aká*, less commonly *-á* (§§ 174, 175).

(*a*) The defining suffix is generally present when a sense of actual possession or personal connexion is intended, e.g.

Sul.	3	*māīn*akay: his mare
	14	*qisa*kay: his words
	42	*kirās*akaṭ: thy shirt

45 *gyān*akam: my soul, beloved
55 *wulāx*akat: thy horse
War. 219 *bārgīr*akam: my packhorse
Bin. — *nūsīn*akam: my writing
Muk. § 9 *jēgā*kan: our home
*āyā*katān: your agha

Note the fixed phrase

Sul. 2 *ay pālāh*ám: O my king

but

War. 209 *ay šāh*im: O my king

This category includes the following nouns of relationship: wife, son, daughter, brother and sister (particularly younger), e.g.

Sul. 4 *birā*kānim: my brothers
19 *žin*akay: his wife
21 *kuř*akānī: his sons
25 *xušk*akatān: your sister
War. 204 *birā gawr*akam: my elder brother
Muk. § 9 *kič*akam: my daughter

(*b*) The defining suffix is absent when no actual possession is intended, with parts of the body, with the remaining nouns of relationship and with all nouns of relationship used conventionally, e.g.

Sul. — *xušk*im: sister! (to any young woman)
12 *řāw*im: my quarry
16 *āmōzā*m: my cousin!
21 *kuř*im: my lads!
27 *dasgīrān*im: my fiancée
27 *čāw*im: my eye
28 *řōḫī šīrīn*im: my sweet soul, beloved
80 *qāč*im: my leg

Note *bāwkim* 'my father', but *bāwkim, bāwkakam* 'old fellow!'

Reflexive

§ 201. The reflexive pronoun has the general form *xō* 'self'. Very rarely, with the suffix *-yān*, the form *xwa* appears (*v.* § 59 (*b*)).

Primarily the pronoun refers to the Subject of a sentence or clause, or to the Agent in the Agential construction. The pronoun

is generally further defined by a personal suffix, thus *xō-m* 'myself', *xō-t* 'thy-self', &c., e.g.

Sul. 8 *kurī* xōm: my (own) son
69 *lagal* xōy: with him(self)
Arb. 446 *ba* xōyān *čūnawa*: they themselves went back

It may then refer to any person in the sentence, e.g.

Sul. 11 *ba sar sarī* xōtā *bāzī dā*: it jumped over thy (own) head

Demonstrative

§ 202. (*a*) The demonstrative pronouns combine the forms of the demonstrative adjectives (§ 192) and the defining suffix *-á* (§ 175),[1] which may here lose its stress. The plural forms incorporate the morpheme *-ān* (§ 177).

Sul., War. have then a system of two, remote and proximate, pronouns, while Bin., Piž., Muk. have one general demonstrative pronoun. In Arb., Rdz., Xoš. the same distinction is made as with the demonstrative adjective (§ 192 (*b*)), viz. *awa* 'this', *awēhē*[2] 'that yonder', *aw* 'that (absent)'. Only *awa* is considered here, *awēhē* being inflexible and *aw* identical with the 3rd personal pronoun of the same dialects (§ 196).

In Sor., Muk. the demonstrative *awa* may take the oblique ending *-ī* (*-y*) and is then frequently reduced to *way*, &c. Thus:

	Sul., War.	Bin., Piž.	Muk., Arb., Rdz., Xoš.
Direct			
this	*ama*	*awa* (*awha*, *ahwa*, *ahō*)	*awa*
that	*awa*		
these	*amāna*	*awāna* (*awhāna*, &c.)	*awāna*
those	*awāna*		

[1] In War. the demonstrative pronoun may be disrupted by a personal pronoun suffix (§ 197), or the adverbial suffix *-ēf* (v. § 240 (*c*)), appearing before the defining suffix *-d* (cf. § 199), e.g.

War. 190 *amam ahird*: I used to do this
but 267 *awīfa*: that too
268 *awima awē*: that (is what) I want
280 *amita kird*: thou didst this

[2] Cf. Sur. *awēhē*, § 277.

Oblique

Sg.	*away* (*awhay*, &c.)	*awa*, (*a*)*way*
Pl.	*awānay* (*awhānay*, &c.)	*awāna*, (*a*)*wānay*

Examples:

Sul. 9 *áwayān*: that one of them
9 *awānay ka*: those others
62 *amāna hamūy*: all these
Bin. 347 *awham lāzima*: I need that
367 *lahway čātir*: better than that
Muk. 8[30] *hāta* way *bimirē*: (he) came to this, that he would die

(*b*) There is some confusion in usage between the demonstrative pronouns and the 3rd personal pronouns (§ 196 (*a*)), e.g.

War. 194 *awīš*: *that* (*not* he) too (but cf. § 175 (*b*))
Arb. 414 *tikrārī lō* way *kirdawa*: he repeated it for *him*
426 *'umrī* wāna: *their* ages

Interrogative

§ 203. (*a*) The following inflexible interrogative pronouns, and related adverbs, occur:

Sul., War. *čī*, Sor., Muk. *či* (*čī* only in pause and in *bō čī*, Arb., &c., *lō čī* 'why?'[1]) 'what?'
Sul., War., Bin., Piž. *čōn*, Muk. *čilōn*,[2] Arb. *kū* 'how?'
War. *čan*, Sul. *čan/y*, Sor. & Muk. *čand* 'how much, many?'
kē[3] (Muk. § 43 *kⁱē*(*hā*)) 'who?'
Sul., War. *kay*, Piž., Muk. *kangē*, Arb. *kangī* 'when?'
kām(*a*) 'which?'

[1] Often reduced to *bōč*, *lōč*, and even *bō*, *lō* 'why?'
[2] The form *čū* appears in an isolated phrase with *zānin*, e.g.
Sul. 131 čū *zānin*: how should we know?
Muk. § 43 čū *zānim*: how should I know?
[3] Once in Bin. *kē* appears as a relative pronoun with an antecedent (cf. § 243), Bin. 355 *atū kēt pē dalēn* . . .: thou whom they call . . .

Examples:

Bin.	321	*awa ba či čān*: what did you go for?
	368	*atū dalēy čī*: what dost thou say?
Muk.	4^{5}	*či dakay*: what art thou doing?
	24^{25}	**čiya* (*čīa*): what is it?
Sul.	—	*ama ba* čaŋa: how much is this?
	—	kē *awa*: who (is) that (at the door)?
	P	*Jēgāy xālid* kāmaya: which is Khalid's place?

(*b*) The following forms contain the sense of a verb:

Sul. *kwā*, *kāmatā*, Muk. *kwānē*, Arb. *kānī* 'where is, are?'

For example:

Sul.	117	kāmatā *hanārakāntān*: where are your pomegranates?
Muk.	21^{1}	kwānē *swārī da nāzanīn*: where are the splendid riders?
Arb.	431	kānī *birātān*: where is your brother?

Sul. *kø* 'where?' requires a limiting preposition, thus:

Sul. *la kø* 'where?', cf. Arb., &c., *kēndarē* (*v.* § 278 (*b*))
bō kø 'whither?', cf. Arb., &c., *kēwa*

For example:

Sul. — *wāy* la kø? *wām lēra*: where art thou? Here I am

VERBS

§ 204. The verb has two simple tenses, namely Present and Past, formed regularly from the present and past stems (*v.* § 205) respectively. The present tense rarely appears in its simple form and then with subjunctive force (cf. compound verbs, § 234).

The two simple tenses are modified by modal affixes (*v.* § 206) to give a system in which distinctions of both tense and mood are made.

The past stem and past Participle (*v.* § 213) combine with tense forms of the substantive verb, the sole auxiliary in this function, to form further, compound, tenses.

The full system is summarized at § 217.

Stems

§ 205. (*a*) The simple tenses are formed from the present and past stems of the verb.

Verbs are normally quoted in the form of the infinitive verbal noun, which invariably ends in *-n*. The removal of the final consonant *-n*, and when it is preceded by the vowel *-i-* of this also, yields the past stem, which is thus regularly predictable from the form of the infinitive, e.g.

čūn 'go'	:	*čū-*
hātin 'come'	:	*hāt-*
kirdin 'do'	:	*kird-*, &c.

The infinitive is, therefore, marked by a morpheme *-(i)n*.

The present stem is not always predictable from the form of the past stem or infinitive, or vice versa. The following empirical rules may be stated, but exceptions and irregularities are numerous and vary according to the dialect.

(i) When the past stem ends in *-ī*, or, if the verb is transitive and polysyllabic, in *-ā*, then the form of the present stem is that of the past stem less this vowel, e.g.

Intransitive	*firī-*[1]	: *fir-*	'fly'
	larzī-	: *larz-*	'tremble'
	pižmī-	: *pižm-*	'sneeze'
Transitive	*birī-*	: *bir-*	'cut'
	kirī-	: *kir-*	'buy'
	mālī-	: *māl-*	'sweep'
	pirsī-	: *pirs-*	'ask'
	hēnā-	: *(h)ēn-*	'bring'
	kēlā-	: *kēl-*	'plough'
	pēčā-	: *pēč-*	'fold'

(ii) When the past stem ends in *-ā* and the verb is either intransitive, or transitive and monosyllabic, then the present stem normally ends in *-ē*, e.g.

Intransitive	*āwsā-*	: *āwsē-*	'swell'
	biržā-	: *biržē-*	'roast'
	dirā-	: *dirē-*	'tear'
	tikā-	: *tikē-*	'drip'

[1] All forms are Sul. unless otherwise stated.

(but note,	*s(t)ā-*	: *s(t)-*	'rise'
	tirsā-	: *tirs-*, Muk. *tirsē-*	'be afraid'
	žiā-	: *žī-*	'live')
Transitive	*gā-*	: *gē-*	'copulate with'
	nā-	: *nē-*	'put'

(iii) When the past stem ends in *-ū* the present stem is normally identical with it, e.g.

Transitive	*dirū-*	: *dirū-*	'sew'
	farmū-	: *farmū-*	'order'
	gurū-	: *gurū-*	'flay'
	fū-	: *fū-*	'chew'
(but note,			
Intransitive	*bū-*	: *b-*	'be'
	čū-	: *č-*	'go')

(iv) When the past stem ends in *-t*, *-d* then the form of the present stem is normally that of the past stem less this, e.g.

Intransitive	*būrd-*	: *būr-*	'pass'
	bizūt-	: *bizū-*	'move'
	gilōft-	: *gilōf-*	'rub'
	kawt-	: *kaw-*	'fall'
	mird-	: *mir-*	'die'
Transitive	*girt-*	: *gir-*	'hold'
	xənd-	: *xən-*	'study'
(but note,	*bast-*	: *bast-*	'tie'
	bīst-	: *bīst-*, Muk. *byē-*	'hear'
	past-	: *past-*	'tread')

(v) When the vowel preceding the final consonant, or consonant group, of the past stem is *-ā-* then the corresponding vowel of the present stem is normally *-ē-*, e.g.

Transitive	*bwārd-*	: *bwēr-* > *bər-*	'pass'
	bižārd-	: *bižēr-*	'pick'
	(ha)nārd-	: *nēr-*	'send'
	pālāwt-	: *pālēw-*	'strain'
	sūtān(d)-	: *sūtēn-*	'burn'

(vi) When the past stem ends in *-st*, *-št*, the present stem frequently ends in *-z*, *-ž* respectively, e.g.

Transitive	*gast-*	: *gaz-*	'bite'
	gwāst-	: *gəz-*	'remove'
	pārāst-	: *pārēz-*	'protect'
	xwāst-	: *xwāz-*	'demand'
	čēšt-	: *čēž-*	'taste'
	kušt-	: *kuž-*	'kill'
	nāšt-	: *nēž-*	'bury'
(but note,	*firō(š)t-*	: *firōš-*	'sell', and
Intransitive	*nīšt-*	: *nīš-*	'sit')

A comprehensive list of verbs, with their present stems, is given in Appendix I. The more common 'irregular' verbs, i.e. those with unpredictable present stems, are marked with an asterisk.

(*b*) Certain verbs are compounded with preverbs (*v.* § 235), which then occur with every form of the verb. In one case the 'preverb' is in fact an enclitic, *-awa*. This does not, however, affect either verbal stem as it is invariably added after the personal ending of the verb (*v.* §§ 207 ff.).

Affixes

§ 206. (*a*) Modal affixes

Sul., War. *a-*,[1] Sor., Muk. *da-*, Rdz. *a-*/*da-*, prefixed to:

the simple present give the Present Indicative,
the simple past give the (Past) Imperfect.

[1] In War. a modal affix *t-* occurs with two verbal stems only, forming the Present Indicative, viz.

War. — *tēm*/*tīēm*, &c.: I, &c., come
— *tērim*, &c.: I, &c., bring

Cf. Kirmānjāhī	(Mokri, Songs, 33)	*tiyam*	
	(Mann, MS.)	*tiᵛām*	
Sinaī	(Mokri, Songs, 231)		*tērim*
	(Mann, MS.)	*tēm*	*tērim*

The form at War. 196 *adērin* 'we bring', appears to be a compromise between *tērin* and an artificial **a-ērin*.

The present forms of this verb *hāwirdin* are exceptional in that a personal pronoun suffix is attached not to either affix *t-* or *b(i)-* (*v.* § 198 (iv. *β*)) but after the personal ending, e.g.

War. — *tērimī*: I am bringing it
— *bērinī*: bring ye it!
294 *dw bērētī*: the water should bring him

Cf. *Sinaī* (Mann, MS.) *tērētīawo*: he brings it back.
But note, influenced by Sul. *ay(h)ēnim*,

War. — *ayērim*: I am bringing it

b(i)-, in all dialects (but *v.* § 234), prefixed to:

the simple present gives the Present Subjunctive,
the past, with the suffix *-āya*, gives the Past Conditional.

b(i)- may also be prefixed to the Imperative, and (in Bin., Piž., Muk.) to the Perfect Conditional and its derivatives (*v.* § 216).

The vowel of the prefixes *a-*, *da-* is not realized before *present* stems with an initial vowel *ē-*, except where this occurs through the loss of an *h-*, e.g.

Sul. — *ēm*, Bin. — *dēm*: I come (*ē-*)
— *ēšē*, Bin. — *dēšē*: it hurts (*ēš-*)

but, 187 *aēnē*: he brings ((*h*)*ēn-*)

War. — *ēžim*: I say (*ēž-*)
Muk. § 53 *dēlim*: I leave (*ēl-*)

but, *daʾēnim*: I bring ((*h*)*ēn-*)

It is realized before the initial stem vowel *ā-*, e.g.

Sul. — *xarīka aāwsē*: it is swelling (*āwsē-*)
Arb. — *tēk daārēn*: they will become embroiled (*ārē-*)

and before *past* stems with initial *ē-*, e.g.

Sul. 180 *sarim aēšā*: my head was aching

When a personal pronoun suffix is present the vowel of *a-*, *da-* is always realized, whatever the stem, e.g.

Sul. — a-*y*-*ēlim*: I shall leave it (*ēl-*)

The vowel of *b(i)-* is not realized before any initial stem vowel, thus

Sul. — *bēm*: should I come? (*ē-*)
War. — *bēžim*: should I say? (*ēž-*)

(*b*) Negative affixes

nā-, prefixed to the simple present,[1] gives the negative of the Present Indicative.

nā-, prefixed to all other tense forms (replacing the positive

[1] When, as rarely, the negative is separated from the verb then this takes the positive affix *a-*, e.g.

Sul. P *agirim bōt bō ēstā* na: I am not weeping for thee for now (i.e. for thy present state)

affix *b(i)-* of Subjunctive and Conditional tenses), gives the negative of these tenses.

má-, prefixed to the Imperative (replacing the affix *b(i)-* where present in the positive), negates it.

Personal Endings

§ 207. Each tense distinguishes five persons by characteristic endings. These do not correspond entirely to the personal pronouns (§ 196) in that the endings appropriate to the 2nd and 3rd persons plural are identical in form.

There is a characteristic Imperative ending for the 2nd person singular.

Present Tenses

§ 208. *(a)* The Present tense is formed from the present stem with the prefixes *a-*, *da-* (Indicative), or *b(i)-* (Subjunctive), negative *nâ-*, *ná-* respectively, and the appropriate personal endings. These are essentially as given below. In conjunction with different stem finals these endings undergo regular modification. Thus the *i* of the 1st Sg. and 2nd, 3rd Pl. endings does not appear after a stem final vowel, while the *ī* of the 2nd Sg. and 1st Pl. endings is normally realized as *y* in the same context. The other modifications, particularly of the 3rd Sg., are not simply analysable and are best given in detail (*v.* (*b*) below).

PRESENT PERSONAL ENDINGS:

	Sul., War.	Bin., Piž., Muk.	Arb., Rdz., Xoš.
Sg. 1	*-im*(1)	*-im*	*-im*
2	*-ī(t)*(2)	*-ī*	*-ī*
3	*-ē(t)*	*-ē(t)*/*-ī(t)*(3)	*-ī(tin)*, *-it-*(4)
Pl. 1	*-în*	*-în*	*-în*
2, 3	*-in*(1)	*-in*	*-in*

NOTES:

(1) Before an enclitic the (unstressed) vowel of *-im*, *-in* is often not realized (*v.* § 41 (*c*)).

(2) Regarding the bracketed forms see (*c*) below.

(3) The alternative form *-ī(t)* (cf. Arb., &c., *-ī*) is heard but rarely in Bin., Piž.

(4) The form *-it-* occurs before the vowel of an enclitic.

(*b*) Thus, when the present stem ends in:

(i) a consonant or semi-vowel, e.g. *b-*, &c., 'be'

	Sul.	War.	Bin., &c.	Arb., &c.
Sg. 1	*abím*	*awím*	*dabím*	*dabím*
2	*abī(t)*	*awī(t)*	*dabī*	*dabī*
3	*abē(t)*	*awē(t)*	*dabē(t)*	*dabī(tin)*, *dabit-*
Pl. 1	*abīn*	*awīn*	*dabīn*	*dabīn*
2, 3	*abin*	*awin*	*dabin*	*dabin*

Note the corresponding Present Subjunctive in

Sg. 1	(*bí*)*bim*	*bíwim* [bu:m] (*v.* §§ 73, 75)	
2	(*bí*)*bī(t)*	*biwī(t)* [bu:i(t), by:i(t), by:(t)]	
3	(*bí*)*bē(t)*	*biwē(t)* [bu:e:(t), by:e:(t)]	
Pl. 1	(*bí*)*bīn*	*biwīn* [bu:in, by:in, by:n]	
2, 3	(*bí*)*bin*	*biwin* [bu:n]	

(ii) *-ē-*, e.g. *-lē-*, &c., 'say'

Sg. 1	*além*	*dalém*	*darém*
2	*alēy(t)*	*dalēy*	*darēy*
3	*alē(t)*	*dalē(t)*	*darē(tin)*, *darēt-*
Pl. 1	*alēyn*	*dalēyn*	*darēyn*
2, 3	*alēn*	*dalēn*	*darēn*

(iii) *-ū-*, e.g. *nū-* 'sleep'

Sg. 1	*anúm*	*danúm*	*danúm*
2	*anūy(t)*	*danūy*	*danūy*
3	*anwē(t)*, *anø(t)*	*danwē(t)*	*danwī(tin)*, *danwīt-*
Pl. 1	*anūyn*	*danūyn*	*danūyn*
2, 3	*anūn*	*danūn*	*danūn*

(iv) *-a-*, e.g. *ka-* 'do'

Sg. 1	*akám*	*dakám*	*dakám*
2	*akay(t)*	*dakay*	*dakay*
3	*akā(t)*	*dakā(t)*	*dakā(tin)*, *dakāt-*
Pl. 1	*akayn*	*dakayn*	*dakayn*
2, 3	*akan*	*dakan*	*dakan*

(v) *-ō-*, e.g. *xō-* 'eat'

Sg. 1	*axóm*	*daxṓm*	*daxṓm*
2	*axōy(t)*	*daxōy*	*daxōy*
3	*axwā(t)*	*daxwā(t)*	*daxwā(tin)*, *daxwāt-*
Pl. 1	*axōyn*	*daxōyn*	*daxōyn*
2, 3	*axōn*	*daxōn*	*daxōn*

(vi) *-ī-*, e.g. *girī-* 'weep', Sor., Muk. *fī-* 'defecate'

Sg. 1	*agirím*	*daf̄ím*	*daf̄ím*
2	*agirī(t)*	*daf̄ī*	*daf̄ī*
3		*daf̄ī(t)*	*daf̄ī(tin)*, *daf̄īt-*
Pl. 1, 2, 3	*agirīn*	*daf̄īn*	*daf̄īn*

(vii) *-ya-*, e.g. War. *gaya-* 'reach', Muk. **girya-* 'weep'

Sg. 1	*agayám*	*dagiryám* (Sor. *dagiryēm*, &c.,
2	*agáy(t)*	*dagirí* regular stem in *-ē-*)
3	*agayé(t)*	*dagiryé(t)*
Pl. 1	*agáyn*	*dagiryáyn*
2, 3	*agayán*	*dagiryán*

(*c*) The euphonic (*t*) (*v.* § 7 (*b*)) of the 2nd Sg. (Sul., War.) and 3rd Sg. forms is always realized when the tense form is immediately followed by the vowel of an enclitic,[1] and may be so in pause. It is seldom realized before another consonant, however.

Examples:

Sul. 28 *amdōzītawa*: thou wilt find me
62 *abayta dar*: thou carriest out

[contrast

Bin. 344 *bikay-awa*: if thou makest . . .
350 *dacī-awa*: thou wilt go back
Muk. 9^{23} *agar bimday-ē*: if thou givest it to me]

Piž. 399 *hatā S. bimēnīt*: while S. remains (alive)
Muk. 14^{25} *bēt la wurmī*: comes from Urmiye
Xoš. 460 *bō yazāy bicīt*: he should go to war

In Arb., &c., the 3rd Sg. *-tin* is an optional form, occurring most commonly in pause.

[1] Mainly the enclitic 'preverb' *-awa* (*v.* § 235 (*a*)) or the preposition *-a*, *-é* (*v.* §§ 236 (*d*), 237 (*b*)).

Substantive Verb

§ 209. (*a*) Beside the normal tense forms (§ 208 (*b*) (i)) the substantive verb has an enclitic present tense:

		Sul., War.[1]	Bin., Piž., Muk.	Arb., Rdz., Xoš.
Sg.	1	*-im/-m*	*-im/-m*	*-im/-ma*
	2	*-ī(t)/-y(t)*	*-ī/-y*	*-ī/-y*
	3 Sul.	*-a(t)/-(y)a(t)*	*-a(t)/-(y)a(t)*	*-a/-(y)a, -t-*
	War.	*-a(s)/-(y)a(s)*		
Pl.	1	*-īn/-yn*	*-īn/-yn*	*-īn/-yna*
	2, 3	*-in/-n*	*-in/-n*	*-in/-na*

where the second forms in each case appear following a vowel. In Arb., &c., the second forms of the 1st Sg. and 2nd and 3rd Pl. (*-ma, -na*) also follow a diphthong. The *-(y)-* of the 3rd Sg. forms is realized after all vowels except *ī, ū*.

Examples: (*v.* also § 214):

Sul. 2 *min pāšā*-m: I am a king
73 *ḥāzir*-im: I am ready
— *wā*-y *la kə*: where art thou?
107 *īši čī*-a: what is thy business?
167 *āltūnī tyā*-ya: there is gold in it
181 *ba xwā kar*-in *ēwa*: by God, you are asses
War. 292 *xarīk*-ī *amkužī*: art thou about to kill me?
Muk. 97[15] *hamū pālawān ū ba-nāw*-īn: we are all champions and famous
Arb. 435 *mindār*-im, *sabī*-ma: I am a child, a boy
442 *gurg*-a, *dēw*-a, *čī*-ya: is it wolf, demon, or what?
436 *la tū*-na: they are from thee
Rdz. 474 *amin*-im, *amin nēčīrī tū*-ma: I am (she), I am thy quarry
489 *pyāw*-ma: I am a man
475 *kurī kīsrāy*-na: they are the sons of Chosroes

[1] In War. the enclitic verb precedes the defining suffix *-á* (cf. § 199), e.g.
War. 281 *'āidī aw 'arab*-im-*á*: I belong to that Arab
(cf. Sul. — *'āidī aw 'arabá*-m)

(*b*) The negative of this form is independent, not enclitic.

		Sul., War	Bin., &c.	Arb., &c.
Sg. 1		*nīm*	*nīm*	*nī́ma*
2		*nī(t)* < **nīy(t)*	*nī* < **nīy*	*nī* < **nīy*
3	Sul.	*nīa(t)*	*nīa(t)*	*nīa, nīt-*
	War.	*nīa(s)*		
Pl. 1		*nīn* < **nīyn*	*nīn* < **nīyn*	*nīna* < **nīyna*
2, 3		*nīn*	*nīn*	*nīna*

(*c*) The euphonic (*t*) of the 2nd Sg. (Sul., War.) and 3rd Sg., and the (*s*) of the 3rd Sg. (War.) is always realized when the verb is immediately followed by the vowel of another enclitic (*v.* § 208 (*c*) fn.). In general only the (*t*) of the 2nd Sg. (Sul., War.) may be realized in pause or before a consonant (but *v.* § 214 (*b*)), e.g.

Sul. 38 *tō čīyt hātuwīta šar̄awa*: what art thou that thou hast come to do battle?
59 *agar šēt nīt, ēm*: if thou art not mad I shall come

Imperative

§ **210.** (*a*) The Imperative is formed from the present stem, and normally the prefix *b(í)-* (negative *má-*), with the following endings:

Sg. 2 *-a*, Pl. 2 *-in*, when the stem ends in a consonant,
-Ø *-n*, ,, ,, vowel.

Thus, for example, when the stem ends in:

(i) a consonant or semi-vowel,

Sul. — *bēna*: bring! ((*h*)*ēn-*)
5 *bičin*: go ye! (*č-*)
77 *bikawa*: fall! (*kaw-*)
War. — *biyğirin*: hold ye it! (*gir-*)
Arb. — *bīna*: bring! ((*h*)*īn-*)

(ii) *-ē-*,

Sul. — *bilē*[1]: say! (*-lē-*)
47 *bilēn*: say ye!

[1] Mann, Muk. § 69, has *bélā* 'say!' but his informant wrote regularly بلے Cf., however, the variation in

War. 285 *dām* na } put me down! (*nē-*)
294 *dām* nē }
Bin. 318 *magirya*: do not weep! (*giryē-*)

(iii) *-ū-*,

Sul. 97 *binū*: go to sleep! (*nū-*)
— *bifarmūn*: be ye so good! (*farmū-*)

(iv) *-a-*,

Sul. — *maka*: do not! (*ka-*)
42 *ba* < *bida*: give! (*da-*)
War. 221 *biywan*: take him! (*ba-*)
Arb. 415 *mayban*: do not take him!

(v) *-ō-*,

Sul. — *biřō*: go! (*řō-*)
— *biyxōn*: eat ye it! (*xō-*)

(vi) *-ī-*,

Sul. — *magirī*: do not weep! (*girī-*)

(*b*) In Sul., War. only, when the Imperative is followed by the vowel of an enclitic, an euphonic *-r-* is realized after the 2nd Sg. form, e.g.

(i) consonant stem,

Sul. — *biygōřarawa*: exchange it! (*gōř-*)

but

Bin. — *biyxəna-wa*: read it! (*xən-*)

(ii) *-ē-* stem,

Sul. — *biylērawa*: repeat it! (*-lē-*)
War. 297 *bēra lāy xōm*: come to my side (*ē-*)

but

Bin. — *biylē-wa*: repeat it! *-(lē)-*

(iii) *-a-* stem,

Sul. 58 *bimdarē*: give it to me! (*da-*)
12 *řāwim bidarawa*: give back my quarry!
War. — *biykarō*: open it! (*ka-*)

but

Bin. — *-im bidaya* < *bida-ē*: give me . . .! (*da-*)
Arb. — *biyka-wa*: open it! (*ka-*)

(*c*) The following Imperative forms from irregular stems occur:

Sul. 78 *bičō*: go!
Bin. 373 *biċōn*: go ye!
[Sul. — *biċin*: go ye! (*ċ*-) is regular]
Sul., Muk. — *wara, warin*: come! come ye!
Rdz. — *mē*: do not come!
[War. — *bē, bēn*: come! come ye! (*ē*-)
Sul. — *maya* < **maē*: do not come!, are regular]
Bin., Muk. § 69 *haṙō*: go!

Note the varying irregular position of the personal pronoun suffix (*v.* § 198 (iv. *β*)) in the following War. Imperative forms:

War. — *bērin*-ī: bring ye it! (*v.* § 206 (*a*) fn.)
— *bēr*-ī-*a*[1]: bring it!
— *bēž*-ī[1]: say it! (*ēž*-)

but

— *bi*-y-*ēžarō*: repeat it!

Past Tenses

§ 211. (*a*) The Past tense is formed from the past stem and the appropriate personal endings. These are essentially:

Past Personal Endings:

	Sul., War.	Sor., Muk.
Sg. 1	-*im*	-*im*
2	-*ī*(*t*)	-*ī*
3	-Ø	-Ø
Pl. 1	-*īn*	-*īn*
2, 3	-*in*	-*in*

They differ from the present endings only in the 3rd Sg. (cf. § 208 (*a*)).

(*b*) Thus, when the past stem ends in:

(i) a consonant, e.g. *hāt*- 'come'

	Sul., War.	Sor., Muk.
Sg. 1	*hātim*	*hātim*
2	*hātī*(*t*)	*hātī*
3	*hāt* (*v.* § 66)	*hāt*
Pl. 1	*hātīn*	*hātīn*
2, 3	*hātin*	*hātin*

[1] Cf. order -*ī*-*a*, § 199, loss of -*a*, § 175 (*b*).

(ii) *-ū-*, e.g. *bū-*, &c., 'be'

	Sul.	War.	
Sg. 1	*būm*	*wim*	*būm*
2	*būy(t)*	*wī(t)*	*būy*
3	*bū*	*ū, -w*	*bū*
Pl. 1	*būyn*	*wīn*	*būyn*
2, 3	*būn*	*win*	*būn*

(iii) *-ā-*, e.g. *mā-* 'stay'

Sg. 1	*mām*	*mām*
2	*māy(t)*	*māy*
3	*mā*	*mā*
Pl. 1	*māyn*	*māyn*
2, 3	*mān*	*mān*

(iv) *-ī-*, e.g. *gaī-* 'reach'

Sg. 1	*gaím*	*gaím*
2	*gaī(t)*	*gaī*
3	*gaī*	
Pl. 1, 2, 3	*gaīn*	*gaīn*

(*c*) In Sul., War. the (*t*) of the 2nd Sg. is always realized when the verb form is followed by the vowel of an enclitic,[1] e.g.

Sul. 15 *gaṙāytawa*: thou returnedst
(cf. Sor. — *gaṙāyawa*)

In Sul., Bin. when a 3rd Sg. past form ending in *-ā* ((*b*) (iii) above) is followed by the vowel of an enclitic an euphonic *-y-* is realized between the vowels,[2] e.g.

Sul. 2, Bin. 304 *gaṙāyawa*: he returned
(cf. Muk. 2[20] *gaṙāwa*)
Bin. 321 *nadītrāyawa*: (she) could not be found

§ 212. (*a*) The Imperfect tense is formed from the Past by the addition of the prefix *a-*, *da-* (§ 206), thus, e.g.

Sul., &c., *aḥātim, ahātī(t), ahāt, ahātīn, ahātin*
Sor., &c., *daḥātim, dahātī, dahāt, dahātīn, dahātin*, &c.

[1] Mainly the enclitic 'preverb' *-awa* (*v.* § 235 (*a*)), the preposition *-a, -ē* (*v.* §§ 236 (*d*), 237 (*b*)) or the conditional suffix *-āya* (*v.* § 212).

[2] The form War. 217 *gaṙāyaō* seems to be a compromise between Sul. *aṙāyawa* and War. **gaṙāō*.

(*b*) The Past Conditional tense[1] is formed from the Past by the addition of the prefix *b(í)-* and the suffix *-āya*. This latter follows the personal endings in all dialects, but in War. may also precede them in certain instances, thus:

Sg. 1	*bíhātimāya*	or, War.,	*bíhātāyam*
2	*bihātītāya*, Sor., &c., *bihātīāya*		*bihātāyay*
3	*bihātāya*[2]		
Pl. 1	*bihātīnāya*	but **not**	**bihātāyayn*
2, 3	*bihātināya*		**bihātāyan*

§ **213.** A Past Participle, which beside its normal function in the formation of the Perfect tense may serve as an adjective, is formed from the past stem. To the stem are added the following morphemes:

Sul., Bin., Piž., Muk. **-ú*, *ʿw*; War. *-(í)ğ* (*v.* § 76);[3] Arb., Rdz., Xoš. *-í*, *ʿy*.

The behaviour of Sul., &c., **-ū* before an enclitic substantive verb is abnormal. In those cases where a distinction is observable the enclitic verb appears in its postconsonantal form, thus [-ˈu:ʊm, -ˈu:i:], &c., rather than *[-u:m, -u:i].[4] A personal pronoun suffix, or the adverbial suffix *-īš* (*v.* § 240 (*c*)), however, appears in its postvocalic form following the past participle. A convenient compromise is to interpret such an [-u:] as *-uw* (*v.* § 60) throughout the conjugation. Thus, e.g.

Sul., &c., *hātúw*, *būw* (*v.* § 60), *māw*, *gaīw*
War. *hātíğ*, *čūğ* (N.B. *wiğ*: Sul. *būw*), *māğ*, *gaīğ*
Arb., &c., *hātí*, *būy*, *māy*, *gaī* (< **gaīy*)

[1] Mann, Muk. § 72, has 'Optat.: *bū́māya* . . .; 3. sing. *bū́yāya*', but, § 83, 'In der Bedeutung eines Optativus perf. . . . *béhātināya* . . .'.

[2] The 3rd Sg. Past Conditional of the verb *būn* 'be' appears in various irregular forms, viz. Sul., Bin. (*bi*)*bwāya*, Muk. *būyāya*, Piž., Sor. *bāya*, War. *wāya*.

[3] Cf. *Sinaī* (Barr, op. cit., p. 224) *-(i)g*.

[4] Note, in corroboration, the metre of the following lines by *Šēx Razā Tālabānī*, viz. – ⏑ – – / – ⏑ – – / – ⏑ – – / – ⏑ –:

maslaḫat wāya hatā nayxwārduwim biynēr-mawa: It is best that I send it back before it eats me!

min azānim kē la xištay birduwī, ammā či sūd: I know who has led thee astray, but to what advantage?

Compound Tenses

§ 214. (*a*) The Perfect Indicative tense is formed of the Past Participle and the enclitic (Present) form of the substantive verb (§ 209 (*a*)) as auxiliary. Thus, when the past *stem* ends in:

(i) a consonant, e.g. *hāt-* 'come'

	Sul., &c.	War.	Arb., &c.
Sg. 1	*hātúwim*	*hātíǧim*	*hātíma*
2	*hātuwī(t)*	*hātiǧī(t)* (§ 76)	*hātí* (< **hātī-y*)[1]
3	*hātuwa,* *hātōt-* (§ 59 (*b*))	*hātiǧa(s)*	*hātíya,* *hātīt-*
Pl. 1	*hātuwīn*	*hātiǧīn*	*hātína* (< **hātī-yna*)
2, 3	*hātuwin*	*hātiǧin*	*hātína*

(ii) *-ū-*, e.g. *bū-*, &c., 'be'

Sg. 1	*búwim*	*búǧim/wíǧim*	*búyma*
2	*būwī(t)*	**būǧī(t)/wiǧī(t)*	*būy* (< **būy-ī*)
3	*būwa,* *bōt-*	*būǧa(s)/wiǧa(s)*	*būya,* *būyt-*
Pl. 1	*būwīn*	**būǧīn/wiǧīn*	*būyna* (< **būy-īna*)
2, 3	*būwin*	*būǧin/wiǧin*	*būyna*

(iii) *-ā-*, e.g. *mā-* 'stay'

Sg. 1	*máwim*	*máǧim*	*máyma*
2	*māwī(t)*	**māǧī(t)*	*māy* (< **māy-ī*)
3	*māwa(t)*	*māǧa(s)*	*māya,* *māyt-*
Pl. 1	*māwīn*	**māǧīn*	*māyna* (< **māy-īna*)
2, 3	*māwin*	*māǧin*	*māyna*

(iv) *-ī-*, e.g. *gaī-* 'reach'

Sg. 1	*gaíwim*	*gaíǧim*	*gaíma*
2	*gaīwī(t)*	*gaīǧī(t)*	*gaī* (< **gaī-y*)
3	*gaīwa(t)*	*gaīǧa(s)*	*gaīa,* *gaīt-*
Pl. 1	*gaīwīn*	*gaīǧīn*	*gaīna* (< **gaī-yna*)
2, 3	*gaīwin*	*gaīǧin*	*gaīna*

[1] Distinguished from the Past tense form (§ 211 (*b*)) by the position of the stress. With past stems ending in a vowel no such distinction is possible.

(*b*) Concerning the (*t*) and (*s*) forms of the auxiliary, see § 209 (*c*). Note that in Piž. the (*t*) of the 3rd Sg. Perfect form may appear before a consonant, e.g.

Piž. — *čōt bō ǰūtī*: he has gone to plough

(*c*) In Sul. when the verb form is followed by the vowel of an enclitic (*v.* § 208 (*c*) fn.) the 3rd Sg. Perfect is regularly, e.g.

Sul. — *gaṙāwatawa, hātōtawa*: he has returned, come back

The syllable *-at-* is generally added, redundantly, to the 1st Sg. and 1st, 2nd, 3rd Pl., but not 2nd Sg. forms, in this context, thus:

Sg.	1	*gaṙāwimatawa*	*hātuwimatawa*
	2	*gaṙāwītawa*	*hātuwītawa*
	3	*gaṙāwatawa*	*hātōtawa*
Pl.	1	*gaṙāwīnatawa*	*hātuwīnatawa*
	2, 3	*gaṙāwinatawa*	*hātuwinatawa*

Examples:

Sul. E *hīčyān nadāwimatē*: they have given me nothing (*v.* §§ 229 (*b*) (ii), 237 (*b*))
E *hīčtān bō nagēṙāwimatawa*: you have not related anything to me

but,

Bin. 325 *gaṙāwimawa*: I have returned
359 *hātuwimawa*: I have come back
Muk. § 78 *hātūīnawa*: we have come back

§ 215. (*a*) The Perfect Subjunctive and Pluperfect tenses are formed from the past *stem* with the Present Subjunctive and Past tenses of the auxiliary verb *būn* (§§ 208 (*b*) (i), 211 (*b*) (ii)) respectively.[1]

In all dialects except Bin., Piž. a stressed *-í-* is added to a stem ending in a consonant before the auxiliary.

[1] In War. these two tenses would thus be identical in form in all but the 3rd Sg., e.g.

Perf. Subj. **hātíwim, -wí(t), -wē(t), -wín, -wín*
Pluperf. *hātíwim, -wí(t), -û, -wín, -wín*

No examples of War. Perfect Subjunctive were, however, recorded. Mann, Muk. § 80, notes the contracted *Sinaī* Pluperfect *hātūm* (*v.* § 75).

(*b*) Thus, when the past stem ends in:

(i) a consonant, e.g. *hāt-* 'come'

	Sul., &c.	Bin., Piž.
Perfect Subjunctive		
Sg. 1	*hātíbim*	*hátbim*
2	*hātībī(t)*, Sor. *-bī*	*hātbī*
3	*hātibē(t)*, *-bī(tin)*	*hātbē(t)*
Pl. 1	*hātibīn*	*hātbīn*
2, 3	*hātibin*	*hātbin*
Pluperfect		
Sg. 1	*hātíbūm*, &c.	*hátbūm*, &c.

(ii) a vowel,[1] e.g. *čū-* 'go'

	All dialects
Perfect Subjunctive	
Sg. 1	*čúbim*
2	*čūbī(t)*, Sor. *-bī*
3	*čūbē(t)*, *-bī(tin)*
Pl. 1	*čūbīn*
2, 3	*čūbin*
Pluperfect	
Sg. 1	*čúbūm*, &c.

§ 216. (*a*) In all Sor. and Muk. a Perfect Conditional tense is formed from the past stem and a particular form of the auxiliary verb *būn* with the 'conditional' infix *-ā-* (cf. §§ 287 (*b*), 291) and past endings (§ 212 (*a*)).[2] The modal affix *b(ī)-* is commonly prefixed to this form, and must be so when an Agential suffix (*v.* § 225) is part of the verbal form (*v.* § 227).

[1] In Bin., Piž., Muk. § 72, the past stem of the verb *būn* is reduced to *bí-* in the Pluperfect tense, thus *bíbūm*, &c.

[2] Not, with Mann, Muk. § 72, an alternative present stem *bā-* directly comparable with NP. *bāš-*. Muk. 116[25] *bām* 'would I had been', Rdz. 487 *nabāy* 'hadst thou not been', &c., are reduced forms of the Perfect Conditional **bíbām*, &c., due presumably to confusion of the stem *bí-* (cf. previous fn.) with the identical modal prefix.

Thus:

	Sor., Muk.
Sg. 1	(*bí*)*hāt*(*í*)bām
2	(*bí*)*hāt*(*í*)bāy
3	(*bí*)*hāt*(*í*)bā
Pl. 1	(*bí*)*hāt*(*í*)bāyn
2, 3	(*bí*)*hāt*(*í*)bān

(*b*) The suffix *-āya* (*v.* § 212 (*b*)) may be added to this form giving a Perfect Conditional II tense, thus:

Sg. 1 (*bí*)*hāt*(*í*)*bāmāya*, &c.

In Bin., Piž. the 'conditional' *-ā-* may, in addition, be infixed between stem and auxiliary, giving a Perfect Conditional III tense, thus:

Sg. 1 (*bí*)*hātābāmāya*, &c.

For examples, see § 249 (*c*).

Summary

§ 217. The tense and mood system may be summarized as follows:

Present Indicative (§ 208)
a-káw-im, &c.

Present Subjunctive (§ 208)
bí-kaw-im, &c.

Imperative (§ 210)
bí-kaw-a, &c.

Past (§ 211)
káwt-im, &c.

Imperfect (§ 212 (*a*))
a-káwt-im, &c.

Past Conditional (§ 212 (*b*))
bí-kawt-im-āya, &c.

Past Participle (§ 213)
kawt-á

Perfect Indicative (§ 214)
kawtúw-im, &c.

Pluperfect (§ 215)
kawt(*í*)*būm*, &c.

Perfect Subjunctive (§ 215)
kawt(*í*)*bim*, &c.

Perfect Conditional I (§ 216 (*a*))

(*bi*)*kawt(i)bām*, &c.

Perfect Conditional II (§ 216 (*b*))

(*bi*)*kawt(i)bām-āya*, &c.

Perfect Conditional III (§ 216 (*b*))

(*bi*)*kawt-ā-bām-āya*, &c.

Certain Verbs

§ 218. (*a*) The morpheme *ha-* with the verb *būn* yields the verb *habūn* 'exist'. Of this only 3rd person forms, Sg. in Sul., War., Sg. and Pl. in Sor., Muk., commonly occur, though the remaining persons are attested. In War. there occurs a distinct 3rd Sg. Present form.

In conjunction with the personal pronoun suffixes (with dative sense, *v.* § 197 (*b*) (v)) this verb gives the sense of possession. Thus:

	Sul., &c.	War.	Arb.
Present Indicative			
Sg. 1	*ham*		
2	*hay(t)*		
3 'there is'	*haya*	*has*	*haya, hayt-*
Pl. 1	*hayn*		
2, 3 'there are'	*han*		
'I have'	*ha-m-a,*	*has-im,*	*hayt-im,*
	-m haya	*-m has*	*-m haya*
'thou hast'	*ha-t-a,*	*has-i(t),*	*hayt-it,*
	-t haya	*-t has*	*-t haya*
'he has'	*hayat-ī,*[1]	*has-ī,*	*hayt-ī,*
	-ī haya	*-ī has*	*-ī haya*
'we have'	*ha-mān-a,*	*has-mān,*	*hayt-mān,*
	-mān haya	*-mān has*	*-mān haya*
'you have'	*ha-tān-a,*	*has-tān,*	*hayt-ū,*
	-tān haya	*-tān has*	*-ū haya*
'they have'	*ha-yān-a,*	*has-yān,*	*hayt-yān,*
	-yān haya	*-yān has*	*-yān haya*
'I have (Pl.)'	(Sor., Muk. only)	*han-im,*	
		-m han, &c.	

[1] See § 219.

Present Subjunctive

'if there be'	*habē(t)*	*habī(tin)*
'if I have'	*ha-m-bē(t)*, *-m habē(t)*, &c.	*ha-m-bī(tin)*, *-m habī(tin)*, &c.

Past, Imperfect

'there was, used to be'	*habū*
'I had, used to have'	*ha-m-bū*, *-m habū*, &c.

Past Conditional

'if I (had) had'	*ha-m-bwāya*, *-m habwāya*, &c.	*ha-m-bāya*, *-m habāya*, &c.

Perfect Indicative

'I have had'	*ha-m-būwa*, *-m habūwa*, &c.	*ha-m-būya*, *-m habūya*, &c.

Examples:

Sul. P *našārazāy galē rēgāy žērzawī* hay: thou art unaware of many underground passages

War. — *čitēkī tir* has: there is another thing

Piž. — *malān* haya, *faqēšin* han: we have a mullah and some students too

Muk. 197[19] hanim *ḫudūdī*: I have some noble horses

Sul. 69 *tūtikēkī pičkōlay* habū: she had a little puppy

Bin. 310 hamānbū: we were well off (lit. 'we had')

Arb. — *agar īšim* habāya *nadahātim*: had I had work to do I would not have come

(*b*) In conjunction with a personal pronoun suffix the enclitic forms of the substantive verb (§ 209 (*a*)) may still give the sense of possession in the absence of the morpheme *ha-*, e.g.

Sul. — *tīnū*-m-a: I am thirsty ('j'ai soif')

— *birsī*-at-Ī[1]: he is hungry ('il a faim')

16 *čī*-at-Ī[1]: what is the matter with him ('qu'est-ce qu'il a')?

The morpheme *ha-* does not appear with negative forms, thus:

'(there) is not'		*nīa*, &c. (*v.* § 209 (*b*))		
'I have not'	Sul., &c.	*nī-m-a*, *-m nīa*	Arb.	*nīt-im*, *-m nīa*
'we have not'		*nī-mān-a*, *-mān nīa*, &c.		*nīt-mān*, *-mān nīa*, &c.

[1] See § 219.

§ 219. When the 3rd Sg. personal pronoun suffix *-ī* is employed with the enclitic substantive verb 3rd Sg. *-a* ambiguity could arise in certain contexts, e.g.

Sul., &c. *haya* 'there is' : **ha*+*y*+*a* 'he has' (*v.* § 218 (*a*))
čī-a 'what is it?' : **čī*+*y*+*a* 'qu'est-ce qu'il a?'
birsī-a 'he is hungry' : **birsī*+*y*+*a* 'il a faim'
(*birsī*, (1) hungry, (2) hunger)

The ambiguity is obviated by the pronoun suffix appearing after the enclitic verb (*v.* § 209 (*c*)), even when it is also plainly present before it, thus:

Sul., &c. *hayat*-ī: he has
čī(y)at-ī: what is the matter with him?
birsī(y)at-ī: he is hungry
tīnūyat-ī: he is thirsty
Arb. *tēnīt*-ī: he is thirsty

The resulting groups Sul., Muk. *-īatī*, *-yatī* > *-ētī*, War. *-yasī*, Arb. *-ītī*, then commonly replace *-īa*, *-ya* in this context, whether the latter actually contains a 3rd Sg. personal pronoun suffix or not, and even when no ambiguity could arise, e.g.

Sul. 13 *xwnuwyatī*[1] < **-y-a*: she has studied
16 *čī dardēkētī* < **-ī-a*: what pain he has
War. 210 *xālōyasī* < **-y-a*: it is his uncle
224 *kuštiğyasī*[1] < **-y-a*: he has killed him
Muk. MS. *gəstuwyatīawa*[1] < **-y-at-awa*: he has moved (house)
Arb. — *awa pištītī* < **-ī-a*: that is his back

and, where *-y-* is merely euphonic,

Sul. 112 *ba žēr sarēwayatī* < **sar-ī-awa-ya*: is under his head
178 *la barīāyatī* < **bar-ī-ā-ya*: he has (his coat) on

§ 220. (*a*) The present tenses of the verb *wīstin* 'want' are provided by an impersonal construction. The stem (*a*)*wē-*, taking the normal modal affixes (§ 206) and present verbal endings (§ 208),

[1] See § 227.

appears with the personal pronoun suffixes with dative sense (§ 197 (*b*) (v)).[1]

The full stem *awē-* occurs after a personal pronoun suffix attached to the modal or negative affix. Otherwise the shorter stem *wē-* appears connected immediately with the affix. Thus:

Sul. — *a-m-awē(t)*, *-m a-wē(t)*: I want
— *a-t-awē(t)*, *-t a-wē(t)*: thou wantest
— *a-y-awē(t)*, *-ī a-wē(t)*: he wants, &c.
— *a-y-awēm*: he wants me
— *xōš-im a-wēyt*: I love thee (*xōš wīstin*)
P *azānī min tōm čand xōš awēt*: thou knowest how much I love thee (*v.* § 196 (*c*))
— *bi-t-awē(t)*, *-t bi-wē(t)*: if thou want, &c.
P *čōnī biwēt*: however he may want (it)
— *nā-t-awē(t)*, *-t nā-wē(t)*: thou dost not want, &c.
— *na-t-awē(t)*, *-t na-wē(t)*: if thou do not want, &c.
Bin., &c. *da-m-awē(t)*, *-m da-wē(t)*: I want, &c.
394 *dayawētawa*: (he) wants (him) again
Arb., &c. *da-m-awē(tin)*, *-m da-wē(tin)*: I want, &c.

In the past tenses *wīstin* is conjugated as a regular transitive verb (*v.* § 223 ff.).

(*b*) In War. the verb *wīstin* is largely replaced by a periphrasis with the adjective *garak* 'necessary' and the substantive verb, e.g.

War. 224 garak-*im-a*: I want, need . . .
227 garak-*a*: please . . . (it is requested . . .)
231 *min tō-m naǧ*garak-*a*: I do not want thee

With Sul., &c., *xōš wīstin* 'to love' compare

War. 223 *xōš-ī* garak *būn*: (he) loved them

§ 221. (*a*) The following forms of a defective auxiliary verb with the sense 'must, ought to' are attested:

Present	Sul. *abē*, War. *awē*	Bin., Piž., Muk. *dabē*
Past	Sul. *abwāya*	Bin., Piž., Muk. *dabū*

[1] The stem appears to have adjectival meaning, 'wanted, necessary' or the like. Its verbal status, however, indicated by the 3rd Sg. forms in which the characteristic verbal endings, with optional *-(t)*, Arb., &c., *-(tin)* (§ 208 (*b*) (ii)), occur and not the enclitic substantive verb (§ 209 (*a*)), is confirmed by the varying modal affixes. Contrast the adjectival construction in (*b*) below.

Examples:

Sul.	—	abē *kuř bē*: it must be a boy
	—	abwāya *kuř bwāya*: she should have been a boy
	—	abē *xēwēkī dībē*: he must have seen a ghost
	10	abē . . . *biygirīn*: we must catch it
	41	abē *bēy lagalmānā*: thou must come with us
War.	196	awē *bičīn*: we must go
Bin.	299	dabē *bičim*: I must go
Piž.	404	dabū *zūtir* . . . *hātbāy*: thou shouldst have come sooner
Muk.	25[36]	dabē *ba qisay bikay*: thou must do as he says

(*b*) The particles *bā*, Muk. § 71 *bilā*, *dā* (cf. §§ 295 (*b*), 310 (*b*)) have the sense 'let . . .', e.g.

Sul.	8	bā *minālī tō bibīnim*: let me see children of thine
	14	bā *biřōynawa*: let us go back
	26	bā *aw āzāya bē*: let that hero come
	45	*na*bā . . . *nagařēmawa*: let it not be that (= lest) I do not return
Bin.	322	*aw* bā *lawē bē*: let him be there
Rdz.	—	*da*, bā *lēra bī*: let it be (= stay) here
Xoš.	445	bā *bičīna ɣāwē*: let us go hunting
Muk.	25[6]	bilā *bičim*: let me go
	27[9]	bilā . . . *mamī hal girīn*: let us take up Mem.

Verbal Constructions

§ 222. In the present tenses of Intransitive and Transitive verbs alike a Subject (A)[1] is always expressed in the personal ending of the verb and possibly by an independent nominal form, e.g.

Sul. [(A)*min*] *arōm*(=A): I go

With Transitive verbs a Direct Object (B) and/or an Indirect Object (C) is normally expressed (exception, *v.* § 223 (*b*)) by a noun or pronoun form. Normally therefore two, and possibly three, parts are expressed in the phrase, e.g.

Sul. [(A)*pyāwaka*] (B)*sagaka akužē*(=A): [the man] kills the dog

[1] See fn. 3 opposite.

[(A)*pyāwaka*] *a*-(B)*y*-*dā*(=A) *ba* (C)*sagaka*: [the man] gives it to the dog

[(A)*pyāwaka*] *la* (C)*sagaka adā*(=A): [the man] strikes at the dog

a-(B)*y*-*kušē*(=A): he kills it

a-(C)*y*-*dāt*(=A)-*ē*: he gives (it) to him[1]

a-(B)*m*-*dāt*(=A)-*ē*: he gives me to (him)[1]

a-(C)*m*-*dāt*(=A)-*ē*: he gives (it) to me[1]

lē-(C)*y adā*(=A): he strikes at it

In the past tenses of Intransitive verbs likewise a Subject (A) is always manifest in the personal ending and possibly in an independent nominal form, e.g.

Sul. [(A)*min*] *rōištim*(=A): I went

The past and compound tenses of Transitive verbs, however, are marked by a particular construction in which three, and with an Indirect 'Object' four, parts may be expressed. This construction requires elaboration.[2]

§ 223. (*a*) With the past and compound tenses of Transitive verbs an Agent (1)[3] *may* be present in the form of an independent noun or pronoun (*v.* § 224). This Agent is in no way equivalent to a Subject, in concord with the verbal form.

A Direct Affectee (2), i.e. a person or thing directly affected by the *Agent*, without reference to the verbal form,[4] is generally represented (exceptions, *v.* (*b*) below). It is then expressed by a verbal personal ending (*v.* § 226) and may also be present as an independent nominal form.

An Indirect Affectee (3), i.e. a person or thing affected, but indirectly, by the *Agent*,[4] may be represented. If not expressed by a nominal form it may appear in either of two alternative suffix forms (*v.* § 229 (*b*)).

[1] *-ē*, *v.* § 237 (*b*). A 3rd Sg. pronominal Direct Object cannot be expressed in this short form.

[2] With the following §§ 223–30 cf. E.'s somewhat different presentation, with examples, in *BSOAS*, XVII. 490, 499 ff.

[3] The figures (1)–(4) are used to indicate the parts of this Agential construction as distinct from the letters (A)–(C) used for the parts of the simple construction described in § 222.

[4] The terms 'Direct/Indirect Affectee' are employed to avoid confusion with the formal terms 'Direct/Indirect Object', i.e. 'nouns &c. primarily/secondarily affected by the *action* of the *verb*', as in § 222.

A fourth part, which is essential to the construction, is the personal pronoun suffix form which *resumes* an Agent (1) already expressed or is, otherwise, the agent itself. It is convenient to term the pronoun suffix in this function the Agential suffix (4).

The term *Agential construction* will, therefore, be used for this characteristic construction of the past and compound tenses of Transitive verbs. Thus:

Sul. [(1)*pyāwaka*] (2)*sagaka*-(4)*y kuštⁱ*(=2): [the man] killed the dog
[(1)*pyāwaka*] (2)*nānaka*-(4)*y dāⁱ*(=2) *ba* (3)*sagaka*: [the man] gave the bread to the dog
[(1)*pyāwaka*] *ba* (3)*sagaka*-(4)*y dāⁱ*(=2): [the man] gave it to the dog
kuštⁱ(=2)-(4)*ī*: he killed it
dāⁱ(=2)-(4)*y*-(3)*m-ē*: he gave it to me[1]

(*b*) A sub-class of Transitive verbs is formed by those denominative verbs which indicate the making of some sound (*v.* § 255 (*d*) end). Although these verbs do not take a Direct Object (indicated therefore (Ø)) they follow the Agential construction in the past tenses. The verb then appears in the minimal 3rd Sg. form, e.g.

Sul. — *abŏřēnē*(=A): it (cow) is lowing
— *bŏřān*(=Ø)-(4)*ī*: it lowed
— *a*-(4)*y*-*bŏřān*(=Ø): it was lowing
— *aḫīlēnin*(=A): they (horses) neigh
— *ḫīlān*(=Ø)-(4)*yān*: they neighed

Similarly, on the rare occasions when no Direct Affectee (Ø) is expressible in the Agential construction the verb appears in the minimal 3rd Sg. form. Cf.

Sul. (2)*tīrēk*-(4)*ī dāⁱ*(=2) *la* (3)*sagaka*: he shot an arrow at the dog, he hit the dog with an arrow
la (3)*sagaka*-(4)*y dāⁱ*(=Ø): he struck (at) the dog
lē-(4)*y dāⁱ*(=Ø+3)[2]: he struck (at) it

Examples:

War. 219 (1)*muxtār* . . . *pē*-(4)*y zānīⁱ*(=Ø)-*n*(=3)[2]: the headman found out about them

Bin. 356 (1)*haćˇ kasē lē*-(4)*y pirsīⁱ*(=Ø)-*m*(=3)[2]: whoever might ask (from) me

[1] *-ē*, *v.* § 237 (*b*). [2] Regarding the double verbal ending see § 229 (*b*) (ii).

§ **224.** In the Agential construction if an Agent (1) is expressed by an independent noun or pronoun form this generally appears at the beginning of the phrase, though it may be preceded by an adverb. In narrative style, however, such an agent may be reiterated after the phrase.

In Sor., but not Muk. (*v.* Muk. § 87), such an Agent frequently appears in the Oblique case (§ 180 (*a*)), e.g.

Bin. 349 (1)*gamīawānī pēy gut*: the boatman said to him
Piž. — (1)*awē kičē wāy kird*: that girl did thus
Arb. 422 (1)*kuṙakay, yisif, gōtī*: the boy, Joseph, said . . .

and, reiterated,

Bin. 320 *pēy gut*, (1)*patrūsyāy*: he, Petrusya, said to him . . .

§ **225.** The Agential pronoun suffix (4) is suffixed to whichever word of the four appropriate categories listed above (§ 198) appears earliest in the sentence, e.g.

(i) Direct Affectee (2),

Sul. 2 (2)*dast*-(4)*ī birda bāxalī*: he put his hand into his bosom
2 (2)*sēwēk*-(4)*ī dar hēnā*: he took out an apple
War. 204 (2)*awīš*-(4)*yān bāy kird*: they called him too

Its complement,

Sul. 67 *tūšī am darda*-(4)*ṭ kirdim*: thou hast inflicted this pain on me
68 *bō čī šēt*-(4)*tān kirdim*: why did you make me (out to be) mad?
War. 190 *bāy*-(4)*yān kirdim*: they called me

(ii) Indirect Affectee (3),

Sul. 5 *yakēk la* (3)*dargā*-(4)*y dā*: someone knocked at the door

(iii) an absolute preposition (*v.* § 237),

Sul. — *lē*-(4)*y dā*: he set off (lit. 'beat it')

(iv. α) a preverb,

Sul. 67 *ṙā*-(4)*y kēšān*: he dragged them

(iv. β) a negative or modal affix,

Sul. 36 *kuṙ na*-(4)*y*-*hēšt*: the boy did not allow
— *a*-(4)*mān*-*xwārdawa*: we used to drink

(iv. *y*) the verbal stem,

Sul. 2 *dā-(4)y-a das pāšā*: he gave it into the king's hand
2 *xist-(4)ī-a bāxalī*: he put it into his bosom

When ambiguity arises, or when the presence of the Agential suffix is not immediately obvious, then it may be repeated after the verb, e.g.

Sul. 3 *latēk-ī xō-y xwārd-(4)ī*: a piece of it he ate himself
69 *lagal xō-y bird-(4)ī*: he took it with him

Note. In one text (Bin. 314–79) there are a few examples of the Agential construction without an Agential suffix (*v.* also Muk. § 91), viz.

Bin. 331 *mālēkī xōr (1)xwāy dāwa*: God has given great wealth
335 *(1)awīš ćand ḫadadēkī ḫaskar ū ḫasākīr ṟagal xist*: he took some soldiers with him
342 *áwī (1)awí dībū*: that which he had seen
370 *(1)patrūsyāy gut*: Petrusya said . . .

The Agent (1) is here always in the oblique case (*v.* § 224). If these are genuine dialect forms they bear a close resemblance to the construction, without Agential suffix, of the Bad., &c., dialects (*v.* § 296).

§ 226. (*a*) In the Agential construction a Direct Affectee (2) which is expressed by an independent nominal form appears in the direct case (*v.* § 180 (*a*)).

(*b*) A Direct Affectee when present, whether expressed by a nominal form or not, is always manifested in a verbal ending of the appropriate tense (§ 211 ff.). It is, however, an over-simplification to state that the verb 'agrees' with such a Direct Affectee, as is demonstrated by the frequent intrusion of the Agential suffix between verbal stem and personal ending (*v.* § 228).

(*c*) The commonest Direct Affectee being a noun or pronoun form (*v.* § 196 (*c*)), the verbal ending is commonly that of the 3rd Sg., i.e. in the past and pluperfect tenses Ø, and in the perfect *-a(t)*, &c.

§ 227. When the Agential suffix is attached to the verb itself a series of paradigms arises, according to the nature of the verbal

ending (*v.* §§ 226 (*b*), 229 (*b*) (ii)). The commonest paradigms are those in which the verbal ending is 3rd Sg., thus:

		Sul., War., Bin., Piž., Muk.	Arb., Rdz., Xoš.
Past (cf. § 211)			
Sg. 1	Agent *xónim*	/*xwĕndim*, &c.	*xĺndim*
2	*xəni(t)*	/*xwĕndit*	*xĺndit*
3	*xənī*	/*xwĕndī*	*xĺndī*
Pl. 1	*xənmān*	/*xwĕndin*, &c.	*xĺndmān*
2	*xəntān*	/*xwĕndū*	*xĺndtān*
3	*xənyān*	/*xwĕndyān*	*xĺndyān*
Imperfect (cf. § 212 (*a*))			
Sg. 1	*amxón*	/*damxwĕnd*, &c.	*damxĺnd*, &c.
Past Conditional (cf. § 212 (*b*))			
Sg. 1	*bímxənāya*	/*bímxwĕndāya*, &c.	
Perfect (cf. § 214 (*a*))			
	Sul., &c.	War.	Arb., &c.
Sg. 1	*xənúwma*[1]	*xwandiğma*	*xĺndítim*
2	*xənuwta*	*xwandiğta*	*xĺndítit*
3	*xənuwya(tī)*[2]	*xwandiğya(sī)*[2, 3]	*xĺndítī*
Pl. 1	*xənuwmāna*	*xwandiğmāna*	*xĺndítmān*
2	*xənuwtāna*	*xwandiğtāna*	*xĺndíttān*
3	*xənuwyāna*	*xwandiğyāna*	*xĺndítyān*
Cf. negative,			
Sg. 1	*námxənuwa*	*námxwandiğa*, &c.	*námxĺndía*, &c.
Perfect Subjunctive (cf. § 215)			
Sg. 1	*xənibētim*	/*xwĕndbētim*, &c.	
2	*xənibēti(t)*	/*xwĕndbētit*, &c.	
Pluperfect (cf. § 215)			
Sg. 1	*xənibūm*	/*xwĕndbūm*	*xĺndíbūm*
2	*xənibūt*	/*xwĕndbūt*, &c.	*xĺndibūt*, &c.
Perfect Conditional (cf. § 216 (*a*))			
Sg. 1		*bímxwĕndbā*	*bímxĺndibā*
2		*bitxwĕndbā*, &c.	*bitxĺndibā*, &c.

[1] Realized [-ˈu:ma], &c., *v.* §§ 60, 213.
[2] See § 219. [3] Realized [-ˈi:ɟ], *v.* § 76.

It will be noted that the Agential suffix generally precedes the auxiliary *-a* of the Perfect Indicative tense, but follows the equivalent *-t-* in Arb., &c. (*v.* § 209 (*a*)).

§ 228. When the verbal ending is other than 3rd Sg. it normally follows the Agential suffix. A general exception to this is the 3rd Sg. Agential suffix *-ī* which always follows the verbal ending. Particular exceptions are noted below.

The full range of possible combinations of two parts, viz. Agential suffix and verbal ending expressing either Affectee, may be summarized as in Table I. The material for dialects other than Sul. is insufficient to cover all possibilities (*v.* Muk. § 90), but known divergences are noted below. In Arb., &c., the range is, in practice, limited to Past tense forms where the Agent is 3rd Sg. or Pl. and the verbal ending other than 2nd Sg. Thus the Arb. forms shown in the Table comprise all those attested.

Notes to the Table

(1) In Sul. the final (*t*) of a group such as *dīmī(t)* 'I saw thee' is always realized, to avoid confusion with the form *dīmī* 'he saw me'.

(2) In Piž., Muk. the group *-im-in* 'I . . . you/them' alternates freely with *-in-im*.

(3) In Sul., when the past stem ends in *-t*, the Agential suffix 2nd Sg. *-i(t)* follows the verbal ending, e.g. *kuštimi*(t), *kuštīni*(t), *kuštini*(t). The grouping may then be extended to other verbs, e.g. *dītimi*(t).

(4) In Sul., following a past stem ending in a consonant and the past participle in *-tu* (*v.* § 213), the first vowel of the groups *-ītī-*, *-ity-*, *-īnī-*, *-īny-* is usually reduced, thus:

xwārdītī > [ˈxwa̱:ɾdti·]: he ate thee
(Bin. 311) *nārdīnī* > [ˈna̱:ɾdni·]: he sent us
nārduwītī > [na̱:ɾˈdu:ti·]: he has sent thee

Certain forms then coincide, e.g.

[ˈna̱:ɾdni·]: he sent us, you, them

demanding, in turn, a consistent spelling as *-itī*, *-ity-*, *-inī*, *-iny-* (*v.* §§ 41 (*c*), 208 (*a*) 1), e.g.

xwārditī, *nārdinī*, *nārduwitī*, &c.

TABLE I

Sul.

Direct Affectee

Agent	-im 'me'		-ī(t) 'thee'		-in 'us'		-in 'you, them'	
-im 'I'	[Past] [Perfect]		dīmit[1] dīwimit	nārdimit† nārduwmit			dīmin dīwimin	nārdimin[2] nārduwmin
-it 'thou'	dītim dīwitim	nārditim[3] nārduwtim			dītīn dīwitīn	nārditīn[3] nārduwtīn	dītin dīwitin	nārditin[3] nārduwtin
-ī 'he'	dīmī, Arb. dītimī dīwimī	nārdīmī nārduwimī	dītī dīwitī[4]	nārdiṭī[4] nārduwitī[4]	dīnī, Arb. dītinī dīwinī[4]	nārdīnī[4] nārduwinī[4]	dīnī, Arb. dītinī dīwinī	nārdīnī nārduwinī
-mān 'we'			dīmānī(t) dīwmānī(t)	nārdmānī(t) nārduwmānī(t)			dīmānin dīwmānin	nārdmānin nārduwmānin
-tān 'you'	dītānim dīwtānim	nārdtānim nārduwtānim			dītānīn dīwtānīn	nārdtānīn nārduwtānīn	dītānin dīwtānin	nārdtānin nārduwtānin
-yān 'they'	dīyānim dīmyān, Arb. dītimyān	nārdyānim[5] nārdīmyān	dīyānī(t) dītyān	nārdyānī(t)[5] nārdītyān[4]	dīyānīn dīmyān, Arb. dītinyān	nārdyānīn[5] nārdīnyān[4]	dīyānin dīmyān, Arb. dītinyān	nārdyānin[5] nārdīnyān
	dīwyānim dīwimyān	nārduwyānim nārduwimyān	dīwyānī(t) dīwityān[4]	nārduwyānī(t) nārduwityān[4]	dīwyānīn dīwinyān[4]	nārduwyānīn nārduwinyān[4]	dīwyānin dīwinyān	nārduwyānin nārduwinyān

† *dīn* 'see', *nārdin* 'send'; thus 'I saw thee, I sent thee, I have seen thee, I have sent thee, &c.'

Examples:

Sul. P *kē nārd*itī: who sent thee?
P *girt*inī: he seized us
P *wahīma girtuw*itī: fear has seized thee

Note the same reduction in the following, irregular, example,

Sul. P *min nārduwitim* (: *nārduwmīt*): I have sent thee

(5) The 3rd Pl. Agential suffix *-yān* may either precede or follow the verbal ending, more commonly the former.

§ 229. (*a*) In the Agential construction an Indirect Affectee (3), if it is expressed by an independent nominal form, does not modify the verbal form; the ending of the verb then indicates the person of the Direct Affectee (2) (*v.* § 226 (*b*)), thus:

Sul. — *la* (3)*ēma-*(4)*y sandin*(=2) / (2)*awān-*(4)*ī la* (3)*ēma sand*(=2)[1] } he took them from us
— *dān*(=2)-(4)*ī ba* (3)*ēma* / (2)*awān-*(4)*ī dā*(=2)[1] *ba* (3)*ēma* } he gave them to us
— *dān*(=2)-(4)*ī ba* (3)*gurgān-xwārdā*: he ruined me (lit. 'gave me into (the state of being) wolf-eaten')
158 (2)*xaw-*(4)*im ba* (3)*tōwa dīwa*(=2): I have seen a dream about thee

(*b*) When the Indirect Affectee (3) is not expressed by an independent nominal form it may appear in either of two alternative forms, viz.

(i) as a personal *pronoun* suffix, if it is attached to an absolute preposition (*v.* § 237), thus:

Sul. — *lē-*(3)mān-(4)*ī sandin*(=2) / *sandin*(=2)-(4)*ī lē-*(3)mān } he took them from us
— *pē-*(3)mān-(4)*ī dān*(=2) / *dān*(=2)-(4)*ī pē-*(3)mān } he gave them to us
E *lē-*(3)tān-(4)*im war nagirt*(=2) / *war-*(4)*im nagirt*(=2) *lē-*(3)tān } I did not receive it from you

(ii) as a *verbal* personal ending, if it is attached to the verb form, thus:

[1] Cf. §§ 196 (*c*), 242 (*d*).

Sul. — (2)*awān-*(4)*ī lē sand*(=2)īn(=3) } he took them from
lē-(4)*y sandin*(=2)īn(=3) } us
— (2)*awān-*(4)*ī dā*(=2)yn(=3)-*ē* } he gave them to us
pē-(4)*y dān*(=2)īn(=3) }
158 (2)*xaw-*(4)*im pēwa dīwī*t(=3): I have seen a dream about thee

These forms show clearly that the verbal stem is capable of supporting two endings, expressing both affectees. From this fact a number of formal points arise which are treated separately in § 230.

(*c*) Similarly a personal pronoun (P2) qualifying the Direct Affectee (2) may, when the Agent is suffixed (4) to that Affectee, in fact be represented, not by a personal *pronoun* suffix, but by a corresponding *verbal* personal ending attached to the verbal form, e.g.

Sul. 127 (2)*bačkakān-*(4)*ī axwārd*(=2)im(=P2): it used to eat my children
E *šētaka* (2)*das-*(4)*ī gazī*(=2)m(=P2): the madman bit my hand
War. 204 (2)*ƒasm-*(4)*yān girt*(=2)īn(=P2): they took photos of us
Bin. 331 (2)*sar-*(4)*im la qalbē ǰo dakird*(=2)ī(=P2)-*awa*: I would have separated thy head from thy body
Piž. 412 (2)*balak-*(4)*yān dagirt*(=2)im(=P2): they would seize my shank
Muk. 174[30] (2)*ǰūānwala-*(4)*y . . . bird*(=2)im(=P2): he took my foal

A rare extension of this to the complement (P3) of the Indirect Affectee is seen in

Bin. 326 *ba* (3)*qisa-*(4)*y kird*(=2)in(=P3): he did according to their words

(*d*) The characteristic construction described in (*b*, *c*) above often gives the verb the appearance of 'agreeing' with the Indirect Affectee or the complement of the Direct Affectee, but see § 226.

The extension of this construction seen in the present or intransitive examples at Muk. § 95 is extraordinary, if real. Muk. 215[16] *hīč farzandū nabūn* is explicable simply as a 3. Pl. verb 'you had no sons' (cf. § 242 (*b*, *c*)).

§ 230. (*a*) When both Direct and Indirect Affectee are pronominal then the verb stem carries two evident personal endings (§ 229 (*b*) (ii)), e.g.

Sul. — *lē-*(4)*y sandin*(=2)īn(=3): he took them from us
— *pē-*(4)*y dān*(=2)īn(=3): he gave them to us

The order of suffixation is apparently

(2)Direct Affectee+(3)Indirect Affectee

When, in addition, the Agent is also suffixed to the verb, it (4) and the verbal ending representing the Direct Affectee (2) appear in the order described in § 228, the Indirect Affectee ending (3) normally being last, e.g.

Sul. — *dā-*(4)m-īt(=2)in(=3)-*ē*: I gave thee to them
— *xwā dā*m(=2)-(4)ī-n(=3)-*ē*: God gave me to you

That the connexion between the Indirect Affectee ending (3) and the verbal stem is tenuous is shown by the fact that it may follow another enclitic, e.g.

Sul. — *dāto-*(4)it-īn(=2)-*ē*-n(=3): Thou hast given us to them (*-ē* postposition, *v.* § 237 (*b*))

(*b*) In practice such complex forms are avoided and the examples in (*a*) above (and even those given by E. in *BSOAS*, XVII. 502, § 49) are to be regarded with caution.

When, however, either Affectee is 3rd Sg. pronominal, and hence represented in the past tense by a verbal ending -Ø, the form is quite common, e.g.

Sul. — *dāmītē* (*dā-*(4)m-īt(=2)-Ø(=3)-*ē*): I gave thee to him
— *dāmītē* (*dā-*(4)m-Ø(=2)-īt(=3)-*ē*): I gave him to thee
— *lē-*(4)*y sandin*(=2)-Ø(=3): he took them from her
E *lē-*(4)*m war nagirt-*Ø(=2)-in(=3): I did not receive it from you/them
P *dā-*Ø(=2)-(4)y-m(=3)-*ē*: he gave it to me
P *dā-*Ø(=2)-(4)y-n(=3)-*ē*: he gave it to them
Muk. 42[9] *xulā dā-*Ø(=2)-m(=3)-(4)ī-*ē*: God gave (him) to me

(*c*) In most cases, however, the Direct Affectee is represented by a nominal form, to which the Agential suffix is commonly attached, and hence also by a 3rd Sg. verbal ending (*v.* § 226 (*c*)), viz. Ø in the past tense, e.g.

Sul. 7 (2)*soŋ*-(4)*ī dā*-Ø(=2)-*m*(=3): he administered an oath to me
10 *pē*-(4)*y wut*-Ø(=2)-*in*(=3): he said to them . . .
14 *tā* . . . (2)*čēšt*-(4)*ī bō kird*-Ø(=2)-*in*(=3): by the time that she had made a meal for them
80 (2)*harsēkyān*-(4)*im bō ḥāzir kird*-Ø(=2)-*ī*(=3): I have brought all three of them for thee

Muk. 4^{25} (2)*xō*-(4)*y lē kird*-Ø(=2)-*in*(=3)-*a dārōya*: he made himself policeman towards them
111^{5} --(4)*im pēškēš kird*-Ø(=2)-*ī*(=3): I gave (it) to thee
163^{19} --(4)*m dā*-Ø(=2)-*n*(=3)-*ē*: I gave (it) to you
163^{20} --(4)*ī dā*-Ø(=2)-*yn*(=3)-*ē*: (God) gave (it) to us
176^{13} (2)*tīrēk*-(4)*ī lē dā*-Ø(=2)-*m*(=3): he shot me with an arrow
232^{6} *wā*-(4)*y lē kird*-Ø(=2)-*im*(=3): he did thus to me

(*d*) The corresponding 3rd Sg. ending of the Perfect tense, *-a(t)*, &c., is apparently omitted in these constructions, on the analogy of Past tense forms, e.g.

Sul. — *dāw*-(4)*it-īn*(=2)-Ø(=3)-*ē*: Thou hast given us to him
E (2)*kāyazaka*-(4)*yān dirīw*-Ø(=2)-*im*(=P2): they have torn my letter
52 *agar* (2)*aǰal*-(4)*i hēnāw*-Ø(=2)-*im*(=P2): if Thou hast brought (the hour of) my death

Hal. — (2)*nāmakān*-(4)*yān dirānuw*-Ø(=2)-*ī*(=P2): have they torn thy letters?

Piž. 409 (2)*fīmāḫ*-(4)*yān* . . . } they have had
. . . *lagal kirduw*-Ø(=2)-*ī*(=3), } intercourse
. . . *kirduw*-a(=2) *lagal* (3)*tō* } with thee

Bin. 327 (2)*dū kārakar*-(4)*ī bō ʔā* girtuwinata *aw mindāla*: he appointed two maids for her to that child (*girtuw-in*(=2)-Ø(=3)-*at*(by extension, as § 214 (*c*))-*a*)

Passive Conjugation

§ 231. The Passive voice of a transitive verb is expressed by a secondary conjugation. This passive verb is conjugated regularly as an intransitive verb.

(*a*) In Sul., Sor., and Muk. the addition of the morpheme *-rē-* to the present stem of the transitive verb yields the present stem of the Passive conjugation. Predictably (*v.* § 205 (*a*) (ii)) the past stem of the Passive has then the form of the present stem of the active verb plus the morpheme *-rā-*, thus:

Sul. *kuštin, kuž-* 'kill' > *kužrē-, kužrā-, kužrān* 'be killed'
nūsīn, nūs- 'write' > *nūsrē-, nūsrā-, nūsrān* 'be written'
nārdin, nēr- 'send' > *nērrē-, nērrā-, nērrān* 'be sent'

(*b*) In War. likewise the present stem of the Passive verb is formed from the present stem of the active verb, regularly, by the addition of the morpheme *-rē-*. Corresponding to this, however, the past stem has generally the morpheme *-yā-*, thus:

War. *nūsīn, nūs-* 'write' > *nūsrē-, nūsyā-, nūsyān* 'be written'

or the compromise form *-ryā-*, thus:

War. *kuštin, kuž-* 'kill' > *kužrē-, kuž(r)yā-, kuž(r)yān* 'be killed'

(*c*) In Sor. and Muk. particularly the Passive present stem is often formed by the addition of the morpheme *-rē-* to the *past* stem of the active verb, e.g.

Bin. 321 *nadītrāyawa*: could not be found (*dītinawa*)
335 *hangāwtrābū*: had been surrounded (*hangāwtin*)
Muk. § 100, fn. 1. **gutrē-, gutrā-, gutrān* 'be said' (*gutin*) (cf. § 232 (ii), s.v. *wutin*)
Rdz. — *kurāndrāya*[1]: has been boiled (*kurāndin*)
— *sōtāndrā*[1]: was burnt (*sōtāndin*)

Cf. Sul. *gā(ī)n, gē-* 'copulate with' > *gāyrē-, gāyrā-, gāyrān.*

§ 232. The formation of the passive stems of certain verbs is irregular:

(i) Reduction of stem final *-a-* to *-i-*,

[1] Cf. § 232 (iv).

Sul. *kirdin, ka-* 'do' > *kirē-, kirā-, kirān* 'be done'
birdin, ba- 'carry' > *birē-, birā-, birān* 'be carried'
dān, da- 'give, hit' > *dirē-, dirā-, dirān* 'be given, hit'
xistin, xa- 'throw' > *xirē-, xirā-, xirān* 'be thrown'

Cf. War. *kiryān* 'be done', *xiryān* 'be thrown', &c.

(ii) Loss of stem final *-ē-*,

Sul. *nān, nē-* 'put' > *nirē-, nirā-, nirān* 'be put'
wutin, -lē- 'say' > defective present *-lrē-* (more commonly *wutrē-*) 'be said'

(iii) Assimilation of *-r-*,

Sul. *gōřīn, gōř-* 'change' > *gōř-rē* > *gōřē-, gōřā-* 'be changed'
biřīn, biř- 'cut' > *biř-rē-* > *biřē-, biřā-* 'be cut'

Cf. War. *biřyān* 'be cut'.

(iv) Euphonic *-d-*. The groups *-n(i)r-, -rr-* arising in the passive stems commonly become *-ndr-, -rdr-* respectively in Sor. and Muk., e.g.

Bin., Rdz. *dā nān, nē-* 'put down' > *dāndrē-, dāndrā-, dāndrān* (cf. Sul. *nān* > *nirē-*, ii. above) 'be put down'

Muk. § 101 *nārdin, nēr-* 'send' > *nērdrē-, nērdrā-, nērdrān* 'be sent'
zānīn, zān- 'know' > *zāndrē-, zāndrā-, zāndrān* 'be known'

(v) Various,

Sul. *girtin, gir-* 'hold' : *gīrē-, gīrā-, gīrān* 'be held', also *gīrsē-, gīrsā-, gīrsān*; cf. War. *gīr(s)yān*
xwārdin, xō- 'eat' : *xurē-, xurā-, xurān* 'be eaten'
šitin, šō- 'wash' : *šōrē-, šōrā-, šōrān* 'be washed'
Arb. *šūštin, šō-* 'wash' : *šūrē-, šūrā-, šūrān* 'be washed'

Causative Conjugation

§ 233. The Causative of an intransitive verb is expressed by a secondary conjugation. This causative verb is conjugated regularly as a transitive verb.

The addition of the morphemes Sul., War., Bin., Piž., Muk., Arb. *-ēn-*, Rdz., Xoš. *-īn-* to the present stem of the intransitive

verb yields the present stem of the Causative conjugation. If the present stem of the intransitive verb ends in *-ē-* this is displaced by the causative morpheme.

The addition to the Intransitive present stem of the morphemes Sul., War., *-ān-*, Sor., Muk. *-ānd-* yields the past stem of the Causative. Thus:

Sul., War.	*diřān, diřē-* 'tear'	> *diřēn-, diřān-, diřānin* 'tear'
Bin., Piž., Muk., Arb.		*diřēn-, diřānd-, diřāndin*
Rdz., Xoš.		*diřīn-, diřānd-, diřāndin*
Sul., &c.	*sūtān, sūtē-* 'burn'	> *sūtēn-, sūtān-, sūtānin* 'burn'
Bin., &c.		*sūtēn-, sūtānd-, sūtāndin*
Rdz., Xoš.	*sōtān, sōt-*	> *sōtīn-, sōtānd-, sōtāndin*
Sul.	*fīřīn, fīř-* 'fly'	> *fīřēn-, fīřān-, fīřānin*, also *fīfēn-, fīfān-, fīfānin* 'snatch'
	řižān, řižē- 'flow'	> *řižēn-, řižān-, řižānin* 'pour'
Note,	*gaī(šti)n, ga-* 'arrive'	> *gayēn-, gayān-, gayānin* 'send'
	nūstin, nū- 'sleep'	> *nwēn-, nwān-, nwānin* 'put to sleep'

Compound Verbs

§ 234. A simple verb may combine with either a preverb (*v.* § 235) or a nominal form to yield a compound verb. The meaning of compound verbs is a lexical matter. They do not differ in form from simple verbs beyond the fact that the modal prefix *b(ī)-* (§ 206 (*a*)) does not normally appear with them, e.g.

Sul. 25 *kuř lēra dā nīšē*: let the boy sit here (*dā nīštin*)
56 *řām gira*: take me up! (*řā girtin*)
80 *qāčī māč kā*: in order to kiss his foot (*māč kirdin*)

but, with *b(ī)-*,

Sul. 11 *ēwa dā binīšin*: sit ye down!

PARTICLES

Preverbs

§ 235. There are two types of preverbs:

(*a*) The adverbs *dar, dā, hal* (Arb., &c., *har*), *řā, řō* (Sor., Muk.), *war* and the 'postverb' suffix *-(a)wa* (War. *-ō*). This latter may appear, but rarely, in the form of a preverb *wa*, e.g.

War. 191 *wa dān* : *dān-ō*
Bin. 345 *wa pařēna* : *pařāndin-awa*
Muk. § 61 *wa baļīn* : *baļīn-awa*

The suffix has two distinct functions. It may either give the sense of repetition, or reversion, e.g.

Sul. *wutin* : *wutin-awa* — say : repeat
gařān : *gařān-awa* — wander : turn back

or modify the meaning of the simple verb unpredictably, as do the other preverbs, e.g.

kirdin : *kirdin-awa* : *řā kirdin* — do : open : run away
xwārdin : *xwārdin-awa* — eat : drink

(*b*) The 'absolute' forms of the simple prepositions, *pē*, &c., and their derivatives, *pēwa*, *pēdā*, *pēk*, &c. (*v.* § 237).

Pre- and Postpositions

§ 236. (*a*) The simple prepositions immediately precede the noun or pronoun they govern. The following are attested:

ba (War., Sor., Muk. also *wa*) 'to'[1]
la (Sor., Muk. also *da*, *řa*) 'at'
a 'to'
bō (Arb., Rdz., Xoš. also *la bō*, *lō*) 'for'
tā, *hatā* 'till'
bē, more commonly *ba bē* 'without'[2]
lagaļ (War. also *laǧaļ*, *lēļ*, Sor., Muk. also *dagaļ*, *řagaļ*, Arb., &c., *lagar*) 'with'[3]
baraw 'towards'
wak, *wakū* (Sor., Muk. *wakī*) 'like'

[1] English equivalents of the prepositions are given only as approximate labels. See § 239.

[2] Mann, Muk. § 112 end, is mistaken is considering *bē-dyāī*, &c., as an abstract noun. The *-ī* is here the Obl. case ending. Cf.
Sul. — *ba bē tifaŋ řōīšt*: he went without a gun
War. 254 *wa bē pāšā*: without a king
An abstract is to be found, however, in
War. 271 *ba* bē-čāwī *mādō*: it was left eyeless

[3] *lagaļ* also occurs as a relative adverb 'when', 'as soon as', e.g.
Sul. 10 *ama* lagaļ *girtmān*: when we have caught this
65 lagaļ *dinyā řūnāk bū*: as soon as it was light

(*b*) In conjunction with the simple prepositions the following enclitic 'postpositions' occur:

-awa (War. *-ō*, Arb., &c., *-wa*)
-dā (Sul., War. also *-ā*,[1] Sor., Muk. also *-ŧā*)
-aw-dwā (cf. § 252 (*b*))

The commonest combinations are:

ba . . . -dā 'through', *la . . . -dā* 'in', *lagal . . . -dā* 'with'
ba . . . -awa 'with', *la . . . -awa* 'from', *a . . . -awa* 'into'
bō . . . -awa 'towards', *la . . . -awdwā* 'after'

and their variant dialect forms.

(*c*) The final vowel of *ba*, *la*, *da*[2] is elided before the 3rd person pronouns, the demonstrative pronouns and adjectives and the adverbs *awē* 'there', *ēra* 'here', e.g.

Sul. — *bama* 'to this', *lawē* 'there', *lēra* 'here'
War. — *layra* 'here'
Sul. P *duktūr farmānī* bēra *čīa*: what has a doctor to do here?
9 law *daštaā*: in that plain
Piž. 410 daw *kuŕa čūkala*: for that little boy

but, exceptionally,

Xoš. 453 la aw *darwēša*: on that dervish

The suffix *-awa* appears as *-wa* following the vowels *ē*, *a*, *ā*, *ō* (*v.* § 171 (*c*)), e.g.

Sul. — *la ēstāwa*: from now (on)
— *la dənēwa*: from yesterday

The War. form *-ō* may coalesce with preceding *a* or not, e.g.

War. 226 *law dēw qāpīakō*: on that side of the door
227 *a nāw šatakaō*: into the river

The suffix *-ā* may coalesce with preceding *a*, *ā* or not, e.g.

Sul. 9 *law daštaā*: in that plain
56 *la bar qāpīy aw mālā*: before the door of that house

[1] Barr (op. cit., p. 231, § 40) sees here two separate suffixes; the postposition *-dā* and an oblique case ending *-ā* = **-ā*. That this is mistaken is shown, within the *Sīnaī* '*Gulistān*' text under discussion, by the appearance of the *-ā* suffix after a personal pronoun suffix, viz. 100[6] *la xātir-im-ā* 'in my mind' (*v.* § 199).
[2] Also of the 'Plural Izafe' particle *da* (§ 183 (*c*)).

(*d*) *a* only occurs in conjunction with a verb and is realized as an enclitic, e.g.

Sul. 12 čū-a *xēwatēkawa*: went into a tent
27 agařēm-a *dwāwa*: I shall go back
61 *šā ismā'īl-a dwāy xōy* xist: she put Shah Ismail behind her
62 abayt-a *dar*: thou carriest out

Only on the rare occasions when the preposition is repeated, but not the verb, does it stand independently, e.g.

War. 227 gaišta *qarāxī šār ū* a *dam darwāzaka*: reached the edge of the town and (came) before the gate
246 hātīna *pārīyāwla*, a *dēy šēx*: we came to Pariyawle, to the sheikh's village

§ **237.** (*a*) Corresponding to the simple prepositions *ba* (*wa*); *la* (*da*); *a* there are the following 'absolute' forms, employed when the form governed is other than an independent noun or pronoun:[1] *pē*, *wē*; *lē*, *tē*; *ē*,[2] e.g.

Sul. 17 ba *min bilē* / pč-*m bilē* } tell me!
158 *xawim* ba *tō*wa *dīwa* / *xawim* pēwa *dīwīt* } I have seen a dream about thee

The correspondence is not, however, always regular, e.g.

Sul. 130 tē-*y hal dan*: thrash him!
-*yān law hal dā*: they thrashed him
— *aydam* ba *filān*: I give it to so-and-so
aydam-ē: I give it to him
Muk. 35[11] *āwirim bar bū* la *badanē*: a fire has ignited in my body
42[3] *āwirēkim* tē *bar bū*[w]*a*: a fire has ignited in me

bō, &c., and *lagal*, &c., are also employed absolutely.

(*b*) The absolute forms of the prepositions, with the exception of *ē*, stand independently and in no particular position in relation to the form they govern. This may be a pronoun suffix, in its

[1] See §§ 198, 229 (*b*), 235 (*b*).
[2] The recognition of *ē* as the absolute form of *a* is E.'s, *v. BSOAS*, XVII. 496, § 22. Mann, Muk. § 67, could not explain the form.

appropriate position (*v.* § 198), or a corresponding verbal ending, attached to the verb (*v.* § 229 (*b*) (ii)).

ē, like *a* (§ 236 (*d*)), is always enclitic following a verb, e.g.

Sul. 2 *xwā awlāyakī nērīnat adāt*-ē: God will give thee male offspring

(*c*) The independent absolute prepositions unite with the post-positions *-awa*, *-dā*, &c., yielding:

pēwa (War. *pēō*), *pēdā* (Sul., War. *pyā*)
lēwa (War. *lēō*)
tēwa (War. *tēō*), *tēdā* (Sul., War. *tyā*)
lagaldā (Sul. *lagalā*, War. *lēlā*, &c.)

With a personal pronoun suffix *-m*, *-t*, *-y*, &c., the Sul., War. forms *pyā* (:*pēdā*), *tyā* (:*tēdā*) yield *pyā-m-ā*, *pyā-t-ā*, *pyā-y-ā*, &c., *tyā-m-ā*, &c., i.e. with repetition of the suffix *-ā* (cf. Sor. *pē-y-dā tē-y-dā*, &c.), e.g.

Sul. — *awānay ka* tyāyān: those who are inside it
P *bazaīm* pyātā *hātuwa*: I have taken pity on thee
Hal. — *sirēšakam hal swī* pyāyā: I spread the glue on it

Corresponding to the groups 'preposition + cardinal *yak*' the absolute forms *pēk*, *wēk*, *lēk*, *tēk* appear, e.g.

Sul. 20 *ba yakawa*
pēkawa (War. *pēkō*, Arb. *pēkwa*) } together

Sul. — *kā w dānakay* la yak *ǰyā akātawa*
Bin. 313 *kā w dānakay* lēk *ǰudā dakātawa* } he separates the chaff and the grain of it from one another

(*d*) The absolute forms of the simple prepositions, *pē*, &c., and their derivatives, *pēwa*, *pēdā*, *pēk*, &c., may function as preverbs (§ 235 (*b*)).

The simple prepositions are generally 'separable' preverbs, i.e. they may appear either in the absolute form, immediately preceding the verb, or, if an indirect object is expressed, in their simple form immediately preceding the word(s) governed, e.g.

Sul. — lē-*y dā*: he struck (at) it (*la*/*lē dān*)
5 la *dargā-y dā*: he knocked at the door

They may, however, be 'inseparable', i.e. always appear immediately preceding the verb in their absolute form, e.g.

Sul. — pē *akanī*: he was laughing (*pē kanīn*)
— pē-*y pē akanī*: he was laughing at him (*ba*/*pē pē kanīn*)
— ba *kuřaka pē akanī*: he was laughing at the boy

The derivatives are generally inseparable, e.g.

Sul. — *īšakay* tēk *dā*: he spoilt the work (*tēk dān*)
Muk. MS. *pō* tēwa *dān*: to insert the weft (*tēwa dān*)

§ 238. The simple prepositions, with or without a postposition, form compound prepositions with nouns, particularly of place, and less commonly with adjectives. The prepositions may be omitted and the noun, &c., appear alone with the function of a preposition. The nominal form may, in certain cases, varying according to dialect, be followed by the Izafe, and in any case may be considered as being in genitive relation with the form governed (*v.* § 198).

Examples. Noun

Sul. — la pišt *dāraka*: behind the tree
11 ba sar *sarī kuřā*: over the boy's head
56 la bar *qāpīy aw mālā*: before the door of that house
86 ba taništ *hayāsawa*: next to Heyas
War. 195 la pāš *awa*: after that
204 la pēš *aw*: before him
219 pāš *čil šaw*: after forty nights
Bin. 323 ba dim *baḥrēdā*: by the sea
325 řa sar *malikšāy*: upon Melikshah
355 wa dast *ma kawē*: falls into our hands

Noun + Izafe

Sul. — la (mā)baynī *dū panǰaradā*: between two windows
— la bardamī *xānūaka*: before the house
War. 195 la pāšī *awa*: after that
204 la pēšī *awā*: before him

Adjective

Muk. 7[10] nizīk *mirdinita*: it is near thy death(-hour)

§ 239. The meaning of prepositions is idiomatic and a matter of lexicon (*v.* E., *BSOAS*, XVII. 494 ff.). Two particular features may, however, be noted.

(*a*) *la* (. . . *-dā*) 'at, in (*of place*)' appears with certain nouns, usually in conjunction with the ending *-ān*, with the connotation of 'manner', e.g.

Sul. — la *ʔiqāndā*: in anger
62 la *xōšīānā*: for joy
74 la *tīnūā*: with thirst
87 la *tirsānā*: from fear
Muk. 2^{25} la *birsān*: of hunger
6^{31} la *tirsān*: from fear
10^{32} la *šarmān*: for shame

That this is the plural morpheme *-ān* (§ 177) is suggested by the following example with Pl. Izafe (§ 183 (*c*)),

Piž. 404 la *tirsī* da *S.*: from fear of S.

(See also § 304).

An ending *-ān*, perhaps to be distinguished from the plural morpheme, is seen also in

Sul. — *la pāšānā*: afterwards
Bin. 311, Muk. 1^{5} *la pāšān*: afterwards
Arb. 416, Rdz. 483 *la pāšdān*: afterwards (**pāš-dā-ān*)

This may be compared with the adverbial *-ān* seen in

Sul. — *ba zistānān pīna w paʔō, ba hāwīnān wurd wurd biʔō*: in winter (it is) patches and rags, in summer go slowly (to show off your finery)
123 *la ǰārān čāktir*: better than formerly

It is noteworthy that this adverbial *-ān* may appear in conjunction with a preposition.

(*b*) Very rarely an absolute preposition (§ 237 (*a*)) is omitted without otherwise altering the construction. A personal pronoun suffix can then be said to have dative force (*v.* § 197 (*b*) (v)), e.g.

Sul. 10 *hatā mumkin*mān *abē* / *hatā* bōmān *mumkīn bibē* } as far as it may be possible for us

By the same token the Indirect Affectee of the Agential construction, appearing in the form of a verbal ending (§ 229 (*b*) (ii)), may be unsupported by a preposition, e.g.

Sul. E *yārīayān dāwim* (= *dāwim-ē*): they have given me help

Adverbial Suffixes

§ 240. Three adverbial suffixes merit particular mention.

(*a*) In Sor., Muk. an adverbial ending *-ē* (*-ī*) occurs. It is identical in form with the Obl. case ending *-ē* (*-ī*) (§ 180), e.g.

Piž. 380 *pār bahārē*: last spring
384 *aw šaway*: that night
397 *hamū waxtēkī*: at all times
Piž. 399, Muk. 10[10] *ṟōžēkī*: one day
Muk. 4[36] *awē šawē*: that night

and, with a preposition,

Bin. 320 *hāta xwārē*: came down
Muk. 10[12] *ṟōina žūrē*: went inside

The form *-ē* appears occasionally in Sul., where it cannot be equated with an Oblique case form, except possibly as a fossil form, e.g.

Sul. 14 *bō mālē*: towards home
32 *šawē*: at night

With prepositions, however, the normal Sul. formation is with the suffix *-awa*, e.g.

Sul. 12 *hāta da*rawa: came outside
15 *bō mā*lawa: towards home

(*b*) A suffix *-ī* appears to form a type of distributive adverb with the numeral *yak* and (attested in War. only) with nouns signifying periods of time, e.g.

War. 205 yakī *sē ṟasmyān girtīn*: they took three photos of each one of us
257 yakī *dasē barǧī bō dirus kird*: he made a suit of clothes for each one
Muk. 24[17] yakī *kuṟēkyān dabē*: each one will have a son
War. 193 *ṟōžī dū ḫaywān, sē ḫaywān akušīn*: each day we kill two or three animals
234 *agar ṟōžī . . . gōštī lē biwiṟī*: if each day thou cuttest flesh from him
269 *sālī kaṟatē*: once each year

(*c*) -(*ī*)š 'also, even'[1] may be suffixed to either a nominal or a verbal form. The form -š is normal following a vowel, e.g.

Sul. 13 *amaš*: this too
41 *ēmaš*: we too

In War., however, and as an exceptional form in Sul., -*yš* appears in postvocalic position, e.g.

Sul. 74 *bō xōyšī*: for himself
War. 197 *xwāyš*: God also

In order of suffixation -*īš* always precedes a personal pronoun suffix. Thus when suffixed to a nominal form it has the position *ƒ* in the order Sul., &c., A B C D (E) *ƒ* G H,
War. A B C *ƒ* G H D (*v.* § 199).

Examples: Sul., &c.

AJ	Muk.	99[33]	*kəstān*akaš:	the highlands too
BJG	Muk.	89[28]	*žinān*īšū:	your women too
CJ	Sul.	P	*la lāyakawa . . . la lāy*akīšawa . . .:	on the one hand . . . on the other hand also . . .
CJG	Sul.	—	*kurēk*īšim *la karkūka*:	one of my sons also is in Kirkuk
DJ	Sul.	76	*am dū kičayš*:	these two girls also
EJ	Muk.	87[26]	*xānzādaxānēš . . . dēnim*:	I shall bring Kh. too
JG	Sul.	—	*xōšī*:	he himself
JH	Sul.	52	*agar aʃalīši nahēnāwim*:	if on the other hand Thou hast not brought (the hour of) my death

Wārmāwa

JD	War.	200	*aw bağzāḏayša*:	that begzade too
		267	*awīša*:	that too

With a verbal form it is suffixed to the first of whichever of the following possible components is present (*v.* § 198 (iv)), preceding any personal pronoun suffix: (*α*) a preverb, (*β*) a negative or modal affix, (*γ*) the verbal stem or participle.

Examples:

(*α*)	Sul.	—	*lēšī būrd*: he forgave him also
		—	*tēkīšim dā*: I have spoilt it too

[1] Cf. *Sinaī -iš, -yš*, e.g. Mokri, Songs 231, *xwayčim* 'I too'.

(β) Sul. P *ašīnāsim*: I know him too
P *agar našhātimawa*: and if I do not come back
Muk. 33[17] *dašībaynawa*: even if we take her back
(γ) Sul. P *agar hātīšimawa*: and if I do come back
P *kawtīšawa bīrī*: he remembered also
P *agar mirduwša*: even if he has died (*v.* § 213)

B. SYNTAX

Emphasis

§ 241. In the Agential construction the Agent generally appears at the beginning of the sentence and syntactically outside it, i.e. it is not essential to the main construction and must be resumed by the Agential suffix within the sentence (*v.* § 223). There is thus no particular emphasis on an Agent expressed by a nominal form.

A similar construction with verbs in the present tense, however, gives emphasis to the nominal form so isolated, which may be either the direct or indirect object or the complement of the subject. It is then resumed within the sentence by a personal pronoun suffix, e.g.

Sul. — pašīmānān, *šāxyān lē birwāya*: those with regrets, if horns were to grow on them . . .
10 ama, *zōr ḫayfa biykužīn*: this, it is a great pity that we should kill it
26 pāšā, *čāwī dar ē*: the king, may his eyes come out
War. 188 min, *nāwim nāmīqa*: I, my name is Namiq

In Sor., when the nominal form so removed from the main phrase requires it, it appears in the Obl. case, e.g.

Bin. 353 xwājā kāwusī, *nafūmī habū*: Khwaja Kawus, he had a horoscope
Piž. 385 tūtinakay, *nēwkōlī hāt*: the tobacco, its weeds came
398 *žinēkī habū*, aw kumāndāray: he had a wife, that commander

Concord

§ 242. (*a*) The concord between subject and verb is generally straightforward, i.e. a singular subject takes a singular verb and a subject with the plural morpheme *-ān* takes a plural verb.

(*b*) A simple noun with generic plural sense (§ 173) may take either a singular or a plural verb, e.g.

Sul. — *dānī am kuŕa sixa/sixin*: this boy's teeth are close together
E *lēra šēr zōŕa*: there are many lions here
9 *āsik . . . alawaŕān*: gazelles were grazing
Muk. 87[2] *žin dayalin*: women are treacherous
178[17] *ŕāwkar būgirin*: may hunters catch you

(*c*) Two or more singular nouns joined by the conjunction *ū*, *w* 'and' or the prepositions *lagal* (*. . . -dā*), *ba . . . -awa*, &c., 'with' constitute a plural subject taking a plural verb, e.g.

Sul. 2 *min ū tō šartēk akayn*: I and thou, (we) shall make a bond
21 *pālā ba istiqbālēkī ǰwānawa . . . čūn*: the king, with a fine reception committee, (they) went
63 *kuř lagal pīrēžin hātin*: the boy, with the old woman, (they) came
Muk. 24[9] *dagal wazīrī xōy hal stān, ŕōīn*: he, with his viziers, (they) set off and went
138[24] *hātūn . . . qarawāš ū māmānčī*: maids and nurses have come

In Bin., Piž., Muk. (Muk. § 28) two nouns joined by *ū* may take the plural ending *-ān*, e.g.

Bin. 340 *aw bit ū salamāna*: those idols (*bit*, *salam*)
369 *gwēy law qisa w bāsānaya*: he hears these sayings (*qisa*, *bās*)
Muk. 66[4] *bāzin ū gwārān bistēnē*: takes bracelets and earrings (*bāzin*, *gwāra*)
112[26] *la tirsī šīr ū xanǰarān*: from fear of swords and daggers (*šīr*, *xanǰar*)

or the plural Izafe *-ī da* (§ 183 (*c*)), e.g.

Bin. 349 *dāk ū bābī da tō*: thy mother and father

A noun with the meaning 'one of many' may take a plural verb, e.g.

War. 213 *hatā* yakēktān . . . *bimēnin*: as long as one of you remain

(*d*) The Direct Affectee of the Agential construction, if it be plural, is nevertheless represented by a 3rd Sg. verbal ending in Sul., e.g.

Sul. — *mināl*a*kānī nwān*: she put the children to bed
— *sag*a*kānī kušt*: he killed the dogs

In Sor., Muk., on the contrary, the verbal ending is commonly plural, even when the noun is not marked by the plural morpheme *-ān*, e.g.

Piž. 380 *mālin bār kird*in: we loaded up (our) property
380 *faršmān lē ṟā xist*in: we spread carpets in it
382 *šitilakānim dāšt*in: I watered the seedlings
Muk. 2[32] *hamūyān qatlū-'āmm kird*in: they massacred everybody
Rdz. 478 *harsēkī girt*in: he captured all three

There appears to be a distinction between animate and inanimate in

Bin. 332 *ćand* wulāxī *ćākī bō kirī*n: he bought him some fine horses
ćand širī ćākī bō kirī: he bought him some fine swords

Relative and Subordinate Clauses

§ 243. (*a*) In Sul., War. the inflexible particle *ka* serves to introduce both relative and subordinate clauses. The former may be either descriptive, e.g.

Sul. E *salāḥadīn*, ka *dinyāy girt*: Saladin, who conquered the world, . . .
9 *am āsikāna*, ka *wā alawaṟēn*: these gazelles, which are grazing thus, . . .

or restrictive, e.g.

Sul. 9 *aw āsikayān* ka *wā tawqēkī āltūnī la mīlāya*: that gazelle which has a collar of gold round its neck . . .

In Sor. and Muk. *ka* is commonly replaced by other particles.

To introduce a descriptive relative clause *wakū* appears in Bin., Piž.,[1] *har ka* in Arb., *agar* in Muk., e.g.

Bin. 327 *žin* . . . wakū *malikay faxrūtānja*: (his) wife, who is Queen Fakhrutaj, . . .

Arb. 418 *pāšāy mīsr*, har ka *'azīzī mīsrē būd*: the king of Egypt, who was Aziz of Egypt, . . .

Muk. § 44 *xulā*, agar *amin ū tōy ba rōžay hēnāwa*: God, who created me and you, . . .

To introduce a restrictive clause, and in the other functions of *ka*, viz. introducing a subordinate clause and as an adverb 'when', *agar* appears in Bin.,[2] Piž., Muk. (Muk. § 44), *har ka*, *wakī* in Arb., *(wa)kū* in Muk., Rdz., Xoš., e.g.

Bin. 323 *aw mawqīḥay*[3] agar . . . *lēy lā dā būn*: that place at which they had landed

336 *agar xwēndīawa* . . . *dazānē* agar *kurī N. nīa*: when he read it he knew that he was not the son of N.

348 *tēy gaī mazbūt* agar *qisakay kirdibū* (for **qisaka(y)*[3] agar *kirdibūy*): she understood perfectly what he had said

Muk. 2[12] *bō xātir awukū* (for **awa* kū) . . . *bizānin*: so that they should think . . .

Arb. 424 *wīstī* har ka *qisay lagar bikā*: he wanted to speak with her

429 wakī *ganimī* . . . *tē dakan*: when you are pouring in wheat

Xoš. 459 *ći wurāyak nīa* . . . kū *amin swār bibim*: is there no horse that I may mount?

(*b*) When a relative clause is restrictive and immediately follows an antecedent which is either defined by the suffix *-aká* (§ 174) or a demonstrative adjective, or is a pronoun, then the relative clause may be introduced by the Izafe, e.g.

Sul. — *aw kitēbay dām xistuwa, halī*[4] *gīra*,

[1] In Sul. this is probably restricted to 'story-tellers' ' style, e.g. Sul. 47 *kuř*, wakū *lā ismā'īl bē*: the boy, who is Shah Ismail . . .

[2] *kē* once in Bin., *v.* p. 83, fn. 3.

[3] *-y* Izafe, *v.* (*b*) below.

[4] See § 241.

but *aw kitēba hal gira* ka *dām xistuwa*: pick up that book which I have thrown down

13 *away tō dīwita*: that which thou hast seen

Muk. § 46 *aw mīwānakay hātibū*: the guest who had come

Arb. 414 *aw xawnay aw jāra gērātawa*: that dream which you related then

The particle *ka*, &c., may appear with the Izafe, e.g.

Sul. 9 *awānay* ka *wā alawaṙēn ba ǰyā*: those which are grazing apart

Piž. 408 *aw kāžēla saray* ka . . . *hēnābūyawa*: that skull which he had brought back

An extension of this is to be seen in such conjunctional phrases as

Sul. 31 *la sar ama ka kuṙ . . . dāwāy minī kird, . . . la sar away* ka *aw gāwira*: because the boy asked for (my hand), . . . because he is an infidel

Use of Tenses

§ 244. (*a*) The Present Indicative has both habitual and actual present meaning, e.g.

Sul. — *mizgawt bē malā* nābē: there is no mosque without a mullah (no rose without a thorn)

— *xalqī kāyazī sipī* axœnētawa: people read (evil into) white (i.e. blank) paper

— *āsinī sārd* akutē: he is striking cold iron

— *har nān* axōm: I am just eating

2 *tō čī* akay *lēra*: what art thou doing here?

(*b*) The adverb *wā* 'thus' gives a sense of a state or action in progress,[1] e.g.

[1] In War. the forms *wā* and (*h*)*ā* give a similar sense in the absence of the normal substantive verb, e.g.

War. — *čāwim* wā *tēō*: I see it (my eye is on it)

199 wā *wa dasmānō*: it (is) in our possession

269 hā *la xurānā*: (they are) on the point of being eaten

271 *bardī* hā *wa sar šānō* } (there is) a rock on her shoulder

273 *bardē* ā *wa sar šānīō* }

Sul. — wā-y *la kə*: where art thou?
— wā-m *lēra*: here I am
9 *am āsikāna ka* wā alawarēn: these gazelles which are grazing
9 *aw āsikayān ka* wā *tawqēkī āltūnī la milāya*: that one of them which has a collar of gold round its neck

(*c*) The Present tense is also used for Future time, e.g.

Sul. 10 *ba das* aygirīn: we shall take it by hand
16 *čī talab akay* atdamē: whatever thou seekest I shall give thee
58 amkužē: she will kill me

(*d*) In narrative it may alternate with the simple Past tense, e.g.

Sul. 1 *pāšāyak* abē . . . *nəž* akā . . . alē . . . *la bar* kird . . . *rūy* kird*a šāx*: there is a king . . . he prays . . . he says . . . he put on (clothes) . . . he turned towards the mountains
16 *kuř āmōzāyakī* . . . abē . . . wutī . . . čū: the boy has a cousin . . . she said . . . she went . . .
27 *lēy* dā, řōī, *kuř* — wā *kuř* arwā: the boy set off and went — lo, he is going —
Bin. 378 *agar wa žūr* kawt *tamāšā* dakā: when he entered he sees . . .

§ **245.** The Present Subjunctive is used:

(*a*) in subordinate clauses, whether introduced by a conjunction or not, e.g.

Sul. 4 *wā jwāna nāwēkī* bixayn*a sar*: it is good that we should give him a name
7 *sonjī dām . . . ka nāwī zāyir* nakam: he made me swear that I would not disclose his name
80 *dā nawī, qāčī māč* kā: he bent down to kiss his foot

(*b*) with injunctive force, e.g.

Sul. — *būkē, gət lē* bē: daughter-in-law, pay thou heed
10 *ba girtin* biygirīn: let us catch it by hand
11 *ēwa lēra dā* binīšin: let ye sit down here

(*c*) following the particle *bā* 'let . . .', and *abē*, &c., 'must' (*v.* § 221, with examples).

(*d*) following certain verbs, e.g.

Sul. 4 *nātwānim . . . nāwī* binēm: I cannot name him (*twānīn*)
27 *amawē . . . sarēk . . .* bidam: I want to visit . . . (*wīstin*)
35 *nayānwērā* bēn: they durst not come (*wērān*)
55 *nāēlim . . .* biīōy: I shall not let thee go (*hēštin*)

§ **246.** (*a*) The Past tense is the normal narrative tense describing a single action in the past, e.g.

Sul. 5 *tāq yakēk la dargāy* dā: someone knocked at the door
5 čūn, *dargāyān* kirdawa: they went and opened the door
43 *šawēk lawē* būm: I was there one night
43 *bayānī* hātim *bō lāy ēwa*: in the morning I came to you

(*b*) The Past tense is also used for a recently perfected action, e.g.

Sul. — *yakēkim* škān: I have (just) broken one
— *la pāš away ka mināłakānī* nwān: after she had put the children to bed
22 *šēxul'arabim* hēnā *w* hātīn: I have brought the Sheikh of the Arabs and we have come
38 *halim gira,* fawtām: take me up, I have perished
43 *tō* čūyta *xānūy ēma*: hast thou been to our house?

A long completed action is expressed by the perfect or pluperfect tenses, e.g.

Perfect

Sul. P *la bātī insān mirīškēkyān swār* kirduwa: instead of a man they mounted a hen (in Montgolfier's balloon)
13 *la mamlakatī xōy* tōrāwa, hātōta *ēra*: she has tired of her own country and come here

Pluperfect

Sul. — *ka čūma lāy mināłakānī* nwānibū: when I went to (see) her she had put the children to bed
Muk. 25[10] *awrō . . . sar-ū-pēy . . .* nārdibū: today she (had) sent a stew

(*c*) Corresponding to the narrative use of the Present Indicative (§ 244 (*d*)) the Perfect tense may also appear to indicate pluperfect action, e.g.

War. 201 *amānawē das bikayn wa īsrāḥat kirdin wa mawqīḥēkmān bō aw dyārī* kirdiğa: we wanted to set about resting and we had appointed a place for it

§ 247. (*a*) The Imperfect tense indicates a continuous, prolonged, repeated, or habitual action in the past,[1] e.g.

Sul. 9 *tamāšāy aw daštay* akird, *čāwī kawt ba āsik la nāw bāxēkā* alawaṙān: he was scanning that plain (when) he saw some gazelles grazing in a garden

15 *duxtūryān* abird*a sar*: they kept on taking doctors to him

38 *donē ba mintān* awut: yesterday you kept on saying to me . . .

179 *ṙādyō nabū, gomān la grāmafōn* agirt: there was no radio, we used to listen to the gramophone

(*b*) The Imperfect appears in the apodosis of certain conditions (*v.* § 249 (*a*)) and in suppositions, even when the condition is not expressed, e.g.

Sul. — *kāškī amdī, dū qisam lagalā* akird: I wish I could see him, (were I to do so) I would have a word or two with him!

Conditions

§ 248. Present, possible conditions.

(*a*) In the protasis the Present Subjunctive appears, e.g.

Sul. 2 *agar tō amam lagal* bikay: if thou dost this with me

16 *agar* bēt *ū tō* bizānī: if it should happen and thou shouldst discover . . .

65 *kuṙ xabar* bikaytawa: if thou wakest the boy

72 *am sē kiča māra* nakam: if I do not marry these three girls

Bin. 324 *lēra baw lāwa* biṙōy: if thou goest hence in that direction

361 *nēwī xōt ba min* nalēy: if thou dost not tell me thy name

generally followed, in the apodosis, by the Present Indicative, e.g.

[1] In Arb. the Imperfect appears exceptionally as the narrative past tense, e.g.

Arb. 430 *awān* daṙōyštin, *hatā niwaṙē* dagaṙānawa: they set off and went half of the way back

431 *awāna čāwyān ṙōn* dabōwa: their eyes regained sight

Sul. — *min bim la ƒyātī tō nān* nāxōm: if I were you I would not eat anything

— *agar bičī bō lāy* nātnāsim: if thou goest to see him I shall have nothing to do with thee

Occasionally the Present Indicative appears in the protasis, e.g.

War. 263 *hal* asī . . . *aṭbasim, hal* nāsī . . . *awkužim*: if thou arisest I shall tie thee up, if thou dost not I shall kill thee

(*b*) If the action of the apodosis must, of necessity, follow that of the protasis in time then the Past tense may appear in the protasis, e.g.

Sul. — *agar* dīt *pēy bilē*: if thou seest him tell him

28 *agar* hātī *la dwāmā . . . amdōzītawa*: if thou comest after me thou wilt find me

58 *agar* hāt *ū* mirdī . . . *atnēžim*: if it should happen and thou shouldst die I shall bury thee

War. — *aǧar* hāṯ *pēy bēža*: if he comes tell him

— *aǧar* čūy *bō silēmānī*: if thou goest to Suleimaniye (please do something for me)

ka nayčūy *awā hīč*: if thou dost not go, no matter

266 *tēy* gayānim *nāykužim*: if I make him understand then I shall not kill him

Bin. 350 *agar* hātimawa *čāka*: if I return all is well

Note. agar, ka in the sense of 'as, since' are generally followed by the Indicative, e.g.

Sul. 2 *agar* azānī *min pāšām*: since thou knowest I am king

58 *ka mādam wāya ḫāzirim*: since it is so I am ready

§ **249.** Past, impossible conditions.

(*a*) The Past Conditional tense is used in the protasis and the Imperfect tense in the apodosis, e.g.

Sul. — *agar dənē ǰaw* bihātītāya *ēra xānit* adī: if thou hadst come here last night thou wouldst have seen Khan

— *agar la ǰēgāy tō* būmāya *am īšam bāštir* akird: had I been in thy place I would have done this job better

— *am īšat wahā* bikirdāya *čāktir* abū: it would have been better hadst thou done this job thus

War. — *aǧar tāpiřim pē* wāya *lēm* akuštin: had I had a shotgun with me I would have killed some of them

234 *tō agar āqil* būytāya naakawtīta *ayraō*: hadst thou had any sense thou wouldst not have got here

Bin. 331 *agar atū dāk* nabūyāya . . . *mistēkim* . . . dadā: hadst thou not been my mother I would have punched (thee)

377 *agar amin* bitirsāmāya . . . nadahātim: had I been afraid I would not have come

(*b*) The Imperfect tense may occasionally appear in the protasis, e.g.

War. 219 *agar asp ū čakim* abū *ba lāō*: if I but had a horse and arms with me

(*c*) In Sor., Muk. the Perfect Conditional tense, in any of its forms, may appear in the protasis, e.g.

Bin. 337 *agar zūt pē* bigutābāmāya: if thou hadst told me sooner

Piž. — *agar pēt* bigutbāmāya } if thou hadst told me
391 *agar ba minit* bigutbā }

Muk. § 84 *agar aw waxta* nahātibām: if I had not come then

Arb. — nahātibān *intīzārim dakirdin*: if you had not come I would have waited for you

§ 250. (*a*) In general the distinction between Subjunctive and Indicative Perfect tenses in conditional sentences is governed by the element of doubt, e.g.

Sul. — *agar* hātuwa *xabarim bidarē*: if (you know) he has come tell me

— *agar* hātibē *wara, pēm bilē*: if he should have come, come and tell me

— *agar* dirānibētī *čāwī dar ahēnim*: if he should have torn it I'll have his eyes out!

52 *agar aǰali* hēnāwim: if Thou hast brought my death-hour

In War., however, only the Perfect Indicative is attested (*v.* § 215 (*a*) fn.), e.g.

War. — *aǧar* diřīwīatī *čāwī dar tērim*: if he has torn it I'll have his eyes out!

— *aǧar āǧiraka* kužyāǧatō *naxtē dārī bixara sar*: if the fire has died down put a little wood on it

(*b*) The Pluperfect may appear in the protasis instead of the Perfect Subjunctive when the action of the apodosis must follow it in time (cf. § 248 (*b*)), e.g.

Sul. 42 *agar xānū* řūxābū *xuškitim bō sar biřa*: if the house has been destroyed decapitate thy sister for me

§ 251. The particles *xōzga* (Muk. § 83 *xōzīā*), *biryā*, *kāškī* 'would that . . .'.

(*a*) When these particles introduce a wish still possible of realization they are normally followed by the Imperfect tense, e.g.

Sul. — *xōzga* ahāt
Muk. § 83 *biryā* dahāt } I wish he would come
Sul. — *kāškī* amdī: I wish I could meet him

A subordinate verb following such a wish appears in the Past Conditional, rather than the Present Subjunctive (cf. § 245 (*d*)), e.g.

Sul. — *xōzga amtwānī* bičūmāya *mālawa*: I wish I could go home

(cf. § 221 (*a*), *abwāya kuř* bwāya)

(*b*) When the wish is impossible of realization the Past Conditional tense is used (in Muk. also the Perfect Conditional), e.g.

Sul. — *xōzga am kābrāyam* nadīāya: I wish I had never seen this fellow
— *kāškī donē* bimdīāya: I wish I had seen him yesterday
— *sad biryā* bimtwānīāya *bičima mālawa*: would a hundred times that it had been possible for me to go home

[cf. — *ḫazim akird amat bō* bikirdimāya: I wish you had done this for me (would have liked you to do this)

P *zōr ārazūmān akird* . . . bihātītāyawa . . . *balām nahātītawa*: we very much wanted you to come back, but you did not]

Muk. 116[25] *biryā amin sēwēk* bām . . . kawtibām . . . bihātināyawa, *aminyān hal* bigirtāyawa: would that I had been an apple, . . . that I had fallen . . . that they had come back and had picked me up

C. WORD FORMATION

(*All references, unless otherwise stated, to Sul. only*)

Compounds

§ 252. Copulative compounds are of three types.

(*a*) The commonest consists of two related nouns or adjectives joined by the conjunction *ū*, *w* 'and' into a syntactical whole, e.g.

bažn-ū-bālā	'stature'
dam-ū-čāw	'face' (mouth and eye)
daŋ-ū-bās	'news' (noise and talk)
dirō-w-dalasa	'deception' (lies and deception)
das-ū-pil	'hand and fingers'
hāt-ū-čū	'traffic' (coming and going)
hāt-ū-nahāt	'luck' (coming and not-coming)
narm-ū-lil	'soft and flabby'
rēgā-w-bān	'highroad' (road and plateau)
taŋ-ū-čalama	'trouble' (tight and collar-bone [*sic*])

Less commonly one member is merely a rhyme of the other, e.g.

ēsk-ū-ṗrūsk	'body' (bone, skeleton and spark)
čāw-ū-rāw	'deception' (eye and hunting)
jē-w-rē	'accommodation' (place and way)
rēk-ū-pēk	'regular, tidy' (tidy and together)
lil-ū-mil	'loose' (flabby and neck)

(*b*) Two members may, alternatively, be joined by a simple preposition, or an equivalent morpheme having no separate identity. The resulting compound may be a noun, adjective, or adverb, e.g.

-aw- (cf. postposition *-aw-dwā*, § 236 (*b*))

dam-aw-nuxūn	'inverted' (face towards inverted)
dast-aw-aǎnō	'depressed' (hand towards knee)
pāš-aw-pāš	'backwards'

-āw-

čaǎn-āw-čaǎn	'various' (kind to kind)
gōš-āw-gōš	'from ear to ear' (NP. *gōš* 'ear')
pĕč-āw-pĕč	'winding' (turn to turn)
ɾay-āw-ɾay	'various' (colour to colour)

ba

das-ba-ǰē	'immediately' (hand to place)
haprūn-ba-haprūn	'in pieces' (piece to piece)
ǰē-ba-ǰē	'in place, in effect' (place to place)

baraw (i.e. *bar-aw-* 'front towards . . .')

sar-baraw-xwāra	'declivity' (head towards downwards)

(*c*) Two repeated parts, particularly verbal stems, may form a compound, either noun, adjective or adverb, e.g.

anǰīn-anǰīn	'chopped fine' (chop chop)
pičīɾ-pičīɾ	'separately' (bit bit)
tik-tik	'drip by drip'

An important subsection of this type is formed by morphemes of 'noise', e.g.

ǰirīwa-ǰirīw	'chirping'
qāspa-qāsp	'clucking (of partridge)'
xirta-xirt	'knocking'

The final *-a-* of the first element is not merely a compound vowel. The first element frequently appears alone with the same meaning as the compound, e.g. *ǰirīwa*, *qāspa*, &c.

§ 253. Determinative compounds may be dependent or descriptive.

(*a*) Dependent compounds are of two types:

(i) A noun qualified by another noun in some case relationship to it, generally genitive. Such compounds appear with the qualifier

preceding the qualified, or inverted, and in either case with or without a compound vowel *-a-*, e.g.

ōstā-žin	'craftsman's wife'
birā-žin	'brother's wife, sister-in-law'
čēšt-aŋāw	'(mid-morning) mealtime'
dēw-jāma	'huntsman's patchwork camouflage shield' (demon-dress)
maraza-ǰār	'rice patch'

and, with the compound vowel,

būm-a-larza	'earthquake'
hawr-a-birūska, -tirīlqa	'lightning' (cloud-lightning)
nargis-a-jār	'field of narcissi'

Inverted,

čāl-āw	'well' (pit of water)
hīza-rōn	'skin bag' (bag for clarified butter)
kilāfa-daxū	'skein of cotton'
kūra-haŋ	'beehive' (hive for bees)

and, with the compound vowel,

čapik-a-gul	'bouquet of flowers'
čarm-a-gā	'oxhide'
danik-a-jō	'barleycorn'
gul-a-bāx	'rose' (flower of garden)
gul-a-ganim	'ear of wheat'
kilk-a-bēl	'spade handle' (tail of spade)
kun-a-lūt	'nostril' (hole of nose)

(ii) A verbal stem, present or past, restricted by a preceding object, or complement, e.g.

Present:	*bā-wašēn*	'fan' (wind-waver)
	barg-dirū	'tailor' (clothes-sewer)
	bizin-miž	'"goat-sucker" lizard'
	dār-firōš	'wood-seller'
	mōr-halkan	'seal-engraver'
	pyāw-kuž	'murderer' (man-killer)
	sar-tāš	'barber' (head-shaver)
	xon-rēž	'bloodthirsty' (blood-spiller)
	zōr-zān	'shrewd' (much-knower)

Note. With the defective present stem *-lē-* the modal affix *bi-* is also present in *zōr-bilē* 'talkative' (much-talker).

Past:	*dast-kird*	'hand-made'
	dast-kawt	'income' (hand-fallen)
	sūraw(a)-kirāw	'baked' (red-made)[1]

(*b*) Descriptive compounds consist of a noun qualified either by a noun in apposition or an adjective. When the qualifier is a noun in apposition it may precede the noun qualified, e.g.

čilk-āw	'foul water' (dirt-water)
šā-ṙag	'jugular (king-) vein'
šā-haŋ	'queen bee'

and, with the compound vowel *-a-*,

sāl-a-waxt	'a year's time'

Commonly, however, it follows the qualified noun, e.g.

dār-hanār, -xurmā	'pomegranate, date tree'
galā-mēw, -tūtin	'vine-, tobacco-leaf'

and, with the compound vowel,

būk-a-šūša	'doll' (bride—glass)
dār-a-ban	'terebinth tree'

When the qualifier is an adjective the compound is also normally inverted and of the 'open' type, e.g.

bizin-a-kēwī	'mountain goat'
qārčik-a-mārāna	'toadstool' (mushroom—snaky)

&c., *ad infinitum* (*v.* § 185). A few uninverted compounds do occur, e.g.

farīk-a-nōk	'unripe chick-pea'
kawn-a-fāḫīša	'old whore' (abuse; otherwise *kōn* 'old')
mizir-a-sēw	'tart apple'
narm-a-zīn	'saddle-cloth' (soft-saddle)

Cf. Muk. § 31,

garm-a-šīn	'bitter (hot) lamentation'
nāsk-a-tīr	'fine arrow'

[1] From *sūr kirdinawa*. The appearance of the 'postverb' *-awa* (§ 235 (*a*)) suffixed to the *word preceding* the verb is a characteristic of the *Sinaī* and more southern dialects.

§ 254. Secondary Adjectival compounds may be possessive or prepositional.

(*a*) The Possessive compounds are generally descriptive compounds with adjectival meaning, e.g.

bad-kār	'evil-doer' (bad-work)
dū-ṙū	'two-faced, hypocritical'
gardin-bilūr	'with a throat (translucent as) crystal'
girān-bā	'expensive' (dear-price)
kawa-ṙōž	'overclouded' (grey-day)

and, with the compound vowel,

kurt-a-bālā	'short' (short-stature)

They are more commonly inverted, without compound vowel, e.g.

ēsīk-sūk, -qurs	'handsome, ugly' (bone-light, -heavy)
bālā-barz	'tall' (stature-tall)
čāw-šīn	'blue-eyed'
dil-tay	'sad' (heart-tight)
dil-taṙ	'sentimental' (heart-damp)
dāwēn-pīs	'licentious' (skirt, hem-dirty)
hanāsa-sārd	'despairing' (breath-cold)
kayf-xōš	'happy' (spirits-pleasant)
sar-garm	'eager' (head-hot)

(*b*) The prepositions *ba, bē* form an infinite number of adjectival compounds, e.g.

ba	*ba-gø*	'obedient' (with ear)
	ba-ǰē	'fitting' (in place)
	ba-kār	'useful' (with work)
	ba-wanawz	'drowsy' (with sleep)
bē	*bē-gø*	'disobedient' (without ear)
	bē-hōš	'unconscious'
	bē-qazā	'unharmed' (without accident)

Suffixes

§ 255. The following suffixes form nouns:

(*a*) Abstract

-ī forms abstract nouns from adjectives, e.g.

āgādārī 'care', *āsānī* 'ease', *ālkirārī* 'obviousness', *bōšī* 'emptiness', *čōlī* 'desertedness', *gawraī* 'greatness', *kurtī* 'shortness', *xōšī* 'pleasure'.

With adjectives of measure, &c., it alternates with

-āī, (*-āyatī*), e.g.

astūrī, *astūrāī* 'thickness', *barzī*, *-āī* 'height', *-dirēžī*, *-āī* 'length', *garmī*, *-āī* 'warmth', *qūlī*, *-āī* 'depth', *bilindī*, *bilindāyatī* 'height'.

With other adjectives it frequently alternates with

-yatī > *-ētī*, e.g.

āzāī, *āzāyatī* 'bravery', *bandaī*, *bandayatī* 'slavery', *kamī*, *kamētī* 'shortcoming', *pānī*, *-āī*, *-ētī* 'breadth'.

-atī, *-īatī* > *-yatī* > *-ētī*, *-āyatī* form abstract nouns from nouns, pronouns, or adjectives, e.g.

āyāyatī 'agha-ship', *birāyatī* 'brotherhood', *dōstāyatī* 'friendship', *dušmināyatī* 'enmity', *ḥākimētī* 'judge-, governorship', *pyāwatī* 'manhood, service', *šāristānētī* 'civilization', *xizmāyatī* 'kinship';

čōnīatī 'how-ness', *kēyatī* 'who-ness';

birsētī 'hunger', *čākīatī* 'goodness', *tīnūētī* 'thirst', *yakīatī*, *yakētī* 'oneness, unity'.

-ēnī, more rarely, forms abstract nouns, e.g.

būkēnī 'bride-ship', *čāwēnī* 'evil-eye', *kičēnī* 'maidenhood', *kuřēnī* 'youth, boyhood'.

(*b*) Diminutive

-č-, *-k-*, *-l-*, *-l-*, in various combinations, form derived nouns, and occasionally adjectives, which may be classed generally as 'diminutive'. Thus:

-ča *bāxča* 'small garden', *nāwča* 'district'
-čka *řēčka* 'string, file', *xānūčka* 'little house'
-ak *dastak* 'pole, beam', *řānak* 'trousers'
-ik *dastik* 'bunch, handle', *ǰūčik* 'chick'
-ka *dōlka* 'bucket', *lūtka* 'mountain peak', *milwānka* 'necklace'
-aka *pūlaka* 'fish scale, spangle', *tūraka* 'small bag'
-ōk *tīrōk* 'rolling pin'
-ōka *bāřōka* 'pullet', *fīřfīřōka* 'whirligig', *ǰinōka* 'jinnee'
-kala *xīřkala* 'short and stout'
-la *mērūla* 'ant', *pīšīla* 'cat', *qutīla* 'little lamp'
-laka *ǰūlaka* 'Jew'

-īla *amustīla* 'finger ring', *gurčīla* 'kidney', *kārīla* 'kid'
-āla *dānūla* 'porridge', *ǰāšūla* 'baby ass', *mēšūla* 'mosquito'
-ūlka *dāsūlka* 'small sickle', *pāčūlka* 'small pick'
-la *gōzala* 'small pitcher', *ǰūǰala* 'chick'
-ala *girdala* 'hillock', *sawzala* 'little fresh one'
-ōla *kičōla* 'little girl', *pičkōla* 'small, tiny'
-ōlka *dīzōlka* 'small saucepan', *girdōlka, tapōlka* 'hillock'

(*c*) Concrete

-gă, forms nouns of place, e.g.

hōrdūgā (War. *hōrdūā*) 'army camp', *kōgā* 'store', *rēgă* 'road', *sayrāngā* 'beauty-spot', *tāvga* 'waterfall'.

-alān, (Bin., Piž. *-alēn*), forms nouns with the meaning 'tract, expanse of . . .', e.g.

bardalān 'stony tract, wilderness', *narmalān* 'soft land', *qāmīšalān* (Bin. *qāmīšalēn*) 'reed-bed', *sawzalān* 'green, verdant tract', *zīalān* (Piž. *zīalēn*) 'thorny tract', *zīxalān* 'stretch of gravel'.

-(i)stān forms nouns with the meaning 'place, country of . . .', e.g.

dāristān 'wood(land)', *ǰaŋlistān* 'jungle', *kurdistān* 'land of the Kurds', *kəstān* 'highlands, uplands', *qabristān* 'graveyard', *šāristān* 'city'.

-awān, *-čī*, *-gar* form nouns of trades or skills, e.g.

āšawān 'miller', *bāxawān* 'gardener', *kaštīawān* 'boatman', *malawān* 'swimmer', *pāsawān* 'watchman', *šāxawān* 'mountaineer', *tōřawān* 'fisherman' (net-man);
bōyāxčī 'shoeblack', *čāyčī* 'teashop-keeper', *qāčāxčī* 'smuggler', *řāwčī* 'huntsman', *tanakačī* 'tinsmith';
āsingar 'blacksmith', *čaqōgar* 'cutler', *misgar* 'coppersmith'.

-dān forms nouns with the meaning '. . . -holder', e.g.

čirādān 'lamp-holder', *darzīdān* 'needle-holder', *fīlakdān* 'bandolier', *ǰizdān* 'wallet', *mōmdān* 'candlestick', *mināldān* 'womb', *mīzildān* 'bladder'.

-dār forms nouns and adjectives with the meaning 'possessor of . . .', e.g.

amīndār 'steward', *baydāxdār* 'flagbearer', *baždār* 'partner', *dukāndār* 'shopkeeper', *dildār* 'lover', *dardadār* 'invalid', *mīwāndār* 'host';
āgādār 'careful', *astēradār* 'starry', *bāldār* 'winged', *dāndār* 'toothed, cogged', *zyāndār* 'damaged'.

-kar, *-kār*, less commonly *-gār*, *-yār*, form nouns and adjectives with the meaning 'doer, maker of . . .', e.g.

čēšt-, *nān-kar* 'cook', *kārakar* 'maidservant', *kāwēžkar* 'ruminant', *swālkar* 'beggar', *šaṙkar* 'fighter';
ārazūkar 'desirous', *īškar* 'industrious', *nəžkar* 'devout';
harzakār 'lusty youth', *kirēkār* 'hired labourer';
pārēzgār 'abstemious';
ƒūtyār 'ploughman', *kirī(y)ār* 'buyer, customer'.

-bāz forms nouns with the meaning 'addicted to . . .', e.g.

hatīwbāz 'pederast' (*hatīw* 'orphan'), *qumārbāz* 'gambler'.

-ēn (Arb., &c., *-ānē*) forms the names of games, e.g.

halūkēn 'tip-cat', *halmātēn*, *mūšēn* (Arb. *kallāyānē*) 'marbles', *fitbōlēn* 'football', *sartrinjēn* 'chess', *tōpēn* (Arb. *tōpānē*) 'ball game', but *zōrān* (Arb. *zōrānē*) 'wrestling'.

(*d*) Verbal

-ōk, *-nōk* form nouns or adjectives with the sense 'habitual doer of . . .' from verbal stems, e.g.

gaṙōk 'wandering, nomad';
girīnōk 'whining, cry-baby', *tirsnōk* 'coward'.

-ar[1] forms agent nouns from verbal stems, e.g.

kužar 'killer', *nūsar* 'writer'.

-amanī forms nouns of materials from verbal past stems, e.g.

sūtamanī 'fuel', *xwārdamanī* 'food'.

-a forms nouns of 'noise'. From the suffix-free morpheme denominative transitive verbs are formed by the addition of the causative morphemes (§ 233).

bōla : *bōlānin* 'murmur', *bāṙa* : *bāṙānin* 'bleat', *fīka* : *fīkānin* 'whistle', *ẖīla* : *ẖīlānin* 'neigh'.

[1] A neologism, formed on the analogy of nouns in *-kar* (v. (*c*) above): *kirdin*, *ka-*, *-dar* (v. § 256): *dān*, *da-*, *-bar*: *birdin*, *ba-*, e.g. *bārbar* 'load-carrier, porter', *ƒanjbar* 'labourer'.

Such nouns also form copulative compounds (§ 252 (*c*)), e.g.

giva-giv 'rumble', *qirča-qirč* 'crackle, splutter', *qîža-qîž* 'scream'.

§ 256. The following suffixes form adjectives:

-î forms adjectives of kind, or origin, e.g.

bāzārî 'common, of the market', *kostānî* 'mountaineer', *lādêî* 'rustic', *mîškî* 'musk-coloured, black', *qāwaî* 'coffee-coloured, brown';
hawlêrî 'of Arbil', *hawrāmî* 'of Avroman'.

-în, *-āwî* form adjectives from nouns, chiefly of materials, e.g.

āgirîn 'fiery', *āsinîn* 'iron', *ṙaŋîn* 'colourful';
ārdāwî 'floury', *bafrāwî* 'made of snow', *quřāwî* 'muddy', *xōlāwî* 'dusty', *xwnāwî* 'bloody'.

-în forms adjectives of quality from nouns, e.g.

aspêwîn 'lousy', *čîlkîn* 'filthy', *gōštîn* 'fleshy', *kulkîn* 'furry', *kirmîn* 'wormy', *lîkîn* 'dribbly', *qîžîn*, *tūkîn* 'hairy', *wurgîn* 'big-bellied'.

-man/ŋ, (*-mand*) forms adjectives with the sense 'possessed of . . .', e.g.

'aqlman 'wise', *ārazūmaŋ* 'desirous', *dādmaŋ* 'just', *dawlaman/ŋ* 'rich', *dardman* 'ill', *hunarmaŋ* 'skilled'.

-dar forms adjectives meaning 'giver of . . .', e.g.

āgādar 'aware', *farmāndar* 'commanding'.

-kār, *-bāw* modify adjectives of colour, e.g.

řaškār 'blackish', *sipîkār* 'whitish', *sūrbāw* 'reddish', *šînkār*, *-bāw* 'bluish'.

-āna forms adjectives and, more commonly, adverbs, e.g.

mārāna 'snaky', *māŋāna* 'monthly', *sālāna* 'annual';
āyāyāna 'agha-like', *āzāyāna* 'bravely', *birāyāna* 'brotherly', *pyāwāna* 'manly', *šêrāna* 'like a lion'.

§ 257. In Sul., Sor., and Muk. the 'regular' Intransitive verb is characterized by the past stem ending *-ā-*, infinitive *-ān*, e.g.

biržān 'be roasted', *kulān* 'boil', *sūtān* 'burn', *škān* 'break'.

With a few verbs this may alternate with a past stem in *-ī-*, e.g.

qawmā/īn 'happen', *rīmā/īn* 'collapse', *rīzā/īn* 'rot', *tōqā/īn* 'burst', *xurā/īn* 'itch'.

The corresponding Transitive verb is a Causative formation (§ 233) from the Intransitive, e.g.

biržānin 'roast', *kulānin* 'boil', *sūtānin* 'burn', *škānin* 'break', *tōqānin* 'terrify', *xurānin* 'scratch'.

In War. the 'regular' Intransitive verb form is marked by the past stem ending *-yā-*, infinitive *-yān*, e.g.

biržyān, kulyān, sūtyān, škiyān (< **škyān*, *v.* § 56 (*a*), end).

PART III

SŪRČĪ, AKRE, AMADIYE, *BARWARĪ-ŽÔR*, *GULLĪ*, ZAKHO, AND SHEIKHAN DIALECTS

A. MORPHOLOGY

NOUNS

Definition

§ 258. (*a*) A noun in its simplest form may be either definite or indefinite, singular or plural (*v.* § 260 (*b*)), e.g.

Ak. — *kavr*: rock, the rock, rocks, the rocks
— *bičûk*: child, the child, children, the children

There is no general means of further defining a noun. The following suffixes, however, appear in particular contexts.

(*b*) The suffix *-aka* appears in Sur., Ak. only, in narrative, defining known characters (cf. § 174), e.g.

Sur. 508 *mirôwaka gôta ẓinakē*[1]: the man said to the woman
Ak. 534 *mirôvaka čôva*: the man returned
555 *māraka kušt*: the snake was killed
682 *das hāvēta kičakē*[1]: he reached for the girl

(*c*) The suffix *-a* appears in all dialects Sur., Ak.–Zx. following a noun qualified by the proximate demonstrative adjective *av*, &c. (*v.* § 270 (*a*)), e.g.

Ak. 547 *av māra*: this snake
591 *av šiftîa*: this watermelon
Zx. 775 *av p̀ira*: this bridge

It is not realized after a noun ending in *a*, e.g.

Ak. 564 *av ṣa*: this dog (*ṣa*)

[1] See § 261 (*b*).

Note. The same 'proximate' suffix is present in

Ak. 597 *či l hinda ganimay kam*: what shall I do with this much wheat? (*v.* § 261 (*b*))

contrast

— *či l hinda ganimī kam*: what would I do with that (so) much wheat?

Cf. also Ak. *hutuva* 'in this way': *watuv* 'in that way'.

§ 259. (*a*) The suffix *-ak* (i.e. Sur., Ak. [-ak'], Am.–Zx. [-ak]) gives the noun an indefinite sense or one of unity,[1] e.g.

Sur. 508 *ʒinak ū mirōvak habūn*: there was once a woman and a man

Ak. 531 *mirōvak habô*: once there was a man
534 *kāyavak nivīsī*: he wrote a letter
551 *yē hanē fīvīak-a*: yonder is a fox

Zx. 790 *mušk̄ilak*: a difficulty

(*b*) Following a noun ending in *a*, *ā* an euphonic *-y-* appears before the suffix, thus *-yak*, e.g.

Ak. 556 *qurbaɬayak*: a badger
580 *ēzyāyak*: a serpent
586 *birāyak*: a brother

In Am.–Zx., however, this *-y-* is often imperceptible after *ā* (cf. § 35 (*b*)), e.g.

Am. 704 *birāᵛak*: a brother
709A *bāᵛak*: a wind
718 *qazāᵛak*: 723 *qazāyak*: a district

In all dialects, Ak.–Zx., the suffix may appear following *a* as *-k* only, e.g.

Ak. 536 *dabānǰak*: a pistol
563 *qisak*: a saying
587 *ǰigārak*: a cigarette

Am. 705 *qabīlak*: a tribe
719 *ǰāmiḥ/ʿak*: a mosque

[1] BX 5 describes a 'Plural Indefinite Article', i.e. suffix, *-in*. Although quoted BX 19 with a Plural oblique ending *-ān* (*v.* § 261 (*b*)), thus, *dangē hasṗinān* 'the sound of horses', it is elsewhere only attested with the Secondary Izafe, q.v. §§ 263 (*c*), 264 (*c*).

The group *-īak* may be reduced to *-ēk* (cf. § 59 (*a*)), e.g.

Ak. 531 *pištēkē dārā*: a load of sticks (*pištī*)
653 *hēvārēkē*: one evening (*hēvārī*)
Bar. 737 *āvāhēk*: a building (*āvāhī*)

(*c*) A noun qualified by an indefinite, but not normally an interrogative, adjective may take the suffix *-ak*, e.g.

Ak. 579 *har kasak*: whatever person
Am. 715 *hamī kasak*: each person

A noun qualified by indefinite number may have the suffix *-ak*, commonly in conjunction with the Plural oblique morpheme *-ā(n)* (§ 261 (*b*)) when oblique, e.g.

Ak. 592 *čār pēnǰ daf'akā*[1]: four or five times (*daf'a*)
611 *gāzī čār pēnǰ bičûkakā kir*: called four or five children
613 *tgal sē čār nānakā*: with three or four loaves
Am. 707 *hašt nah r̄ôžakā*[1]: eight or nine days
711A *p čand r̄ôžakā*: by some days
Bar. 731 *sē čārak dī*: some three or four others
Zx. 773 *dah daqīqayakā*[1]: some ten minutes

Note. In conjunction with the numeral *yak*, &c. (§ 272), and certain indefinite pronouns an 'indefinite' suffix *-ē* (also ? *-ī*) appears, e.g.

Ak. 563 *har yēkē qisak gôt*: each one said something
617 *hačīē dītbītava*: whoever has seen it
618 *hačīē bīnitava*: whoever brings it back
629 *kasē . . . nāškīnīt*: nobody breaks . . .
Am. 706A *har ēkē k̄ēt̄ikak dāē*: gave each one a cat
Gul. 765 *k̄asē . . . nagôta min*: nobody told me . . .
Zx. 774 *lāzima ēkē am bikužīn*: we must kill someone

Cf. also Ak. 585 *ču ēkī . . . nanivistin*: no one slept.

Declension

§ **260.** (*a*) In all dialects Sur., Ak.–Zx., Shn. the noun declension presents a system of:

two numbers, Singular and Plural,
two *grammatical* genders, Masculine and Feminine,
two cases, Direct and Oblique.

[1] Adverbial Oblique, *v.* § 305 (*a*).

In addition, in the system of Vocative endings, a distinction of *natural* gender is observed.

(*b*) The simple noun, i.e. in its Direct case form, gives no indication of its grammatical gender or number (*v.* § 258).[1] These are manifest only in the Oblique case forms (§ 261 (*b*)) and in the forms of the Izafe (§ 264).

§ 261. (*a*) A noun which is the Subject of a verb, or a Predicative noun, appears in the Direct case, i.e. in its uninflected form.

A noun which:

(i) is the Direct Object of a verb,
(ii) is the Agent of a sentence in the Passive construction (*v.* § 296),
(iii) has 'oblique' (i.e. dative, ablative, locative, &c.) sense, whether governed by a preposition or not,
(iv) follows another noun with the Izafe (§ 263), or follows the Demonstrative Izafe (§ 266),
(v) has adverbial sense (*v.* § 305 (*a*)),

normally appears in the Oblique case. There is, however, a tendency for the uninflected, Direct case form to replace the Oblique form, particularly in its function as Agent.

If a noun in the Oblique case is followed by an Izafe form then it does not take an Oblique ending.

(*b*) The Oblique case is marked by the following Primary morphemes:

	Sg. M.	F.	Pl. M. & F.
All dialects Sur., Ak.–Zx., Shn., BX	*-ī*	*-ē*	*-ā(n)*
KK § 75 ff.	-Ø[2]	*-ē*	*-ā*

These are added to the simple noun directly, or after the defining suffix *-aka* (§ 258 (*b*)) when present. Examples, *v.* (*d*) below.

[1] The paradigm given in *BSOAS*, XVI. 530, is wrong, and a misinterpretation of K. A. Bedir-Xan's 'Langue Kurde', in that the Plural morpheme *-ā(n)* occurs only in the Oblique case.

[2] Alternatively in KK, BX the internal vowels *a*, *ā* of Masculine nouns may be modified to *ē* in the Sg. Obl., e.g. KK § 89 *fivān* 'shepherd' > *fivēn*, *darī* 'door' > *dērī*.

Following *a*, *ā* the M. Sg. Obl. ending *-ī* appears as *-y*, e.g.

Ak. 531 *a čyāy*: to the mountain
534 *mālā kābrāy*: the fellow's house
556 *a qurbašay*: to the badger
544 *mirôvakay gôtī*[1]: the man said (*mirôv*, *-aka*)

The F. Sg. Obl. ending *-ē* coalesces with preceding *a*, e.g.

Ak. 533 *l filān ǰadē*: in such-and-such street (*ǰāda*)
536 *darikē qišlē*: the door of the town hall (*qišla*)
533 *gôta žinakē*: said to the woman (*žin*, *-aka*)
682 *das hāvēta kičakē*: reached for the girl (*kič*, *-aka*)

An *ē* preceding the Pl. Obl. ending *-ā(n)* may be modified to *ī*, e.g.

Ak. 555 *p har dô pīā*: with both feet (*pē*)
Zx. 785 *pīā hāt*: he came on foot

contrast,

Ak. 565 *sēā*[1]: three people (*sē*)

The full form *-ān* of the Pl. Obl. morpheme only occurs when it is followed by the enclitic form of the substantive verb (§ 284 (*a*)), e.g.

Ak. 662 *kurē darwēšān-ī*: thou art the son of (one of) some dervishes
679 *šēxē 'arabān-a*: he is the Sheikh of the Arabs
Am. 720 *na šibatī ǩārē hamīān-a*: is not like everybody's dress
Zx. 777 *yē l sar vān gir-ô-mirān-in*: they are on these hills and humps

(*c*) When the noun has the indefinite suffix *-ak* (§ 259)[2] then the Oblique case morphemes take the following, Secondary, forms (in all dialects Sur.–Bar. identical with the Primary morphemes, *v.* (*b*) above)[3]:

	Sg. M.	F.	Pl. M. & F.
All dialects, Sur.–Bar.	*-ī*	*-ē*	*-ā(n)*
Gul.	*-ī* (? *-ē*)	*-ē*	
Zx.	*-ē* M. & F.		
KK § 92 ff., BX. 19	*-ī*	*-ē*	

[1] Agent oblique, *v.* § 296 (*b*).
[2] In KK §§ 95, 96 also when qualified by a demonstrative adjective *avā*, *avē*.
[3] The distinction of such Primary and Secondary morphemes, though largely disguised here, is common is neighbouring dialects. Cf. the Izafe forms, § 264.

Examples:

Ak. 531 *dikānā mirôvakī*: a man's shop (*mirôv* M.)
540 *har biskakē*: on each curl (*bisk* F.)
592 *čār pēnǰ daf'akā*: four or five times (*v.* § 259 (*c*))
Am. 704A *nik naǰārakī*: to a carpenter (*naǰār* M.)
Bar. 729 *žinakē bīna*: take a wife (*žin* F.)
Gul. 750 *l bīsťānakī*: in an orchard (*bīsťān* M.)
Gul., Zx. — *nānakē bīna*: bring a loaf of bread (*nān* M.)
Zx. — *kalaxē ţayrakē*: the carcass of a bird (*ţayr* M.)
— *ţarmē žinakē*: the body of a woman
771 *ž gundakē*: from a village (*gund* M.)

(*d*) Examples of the Oblique case:

(i) as Direct Object,

Sur. 507 *āxē dē kōrin*: they will dig up earth (*āx* F.)
507 *dē kēšin, qurī*: they will take it, mud (*qur* M.)
Ak. 531 *vī ţayray nākirī*: won't you buy this bird? (*ţayr* M., *-a*, *v.* § 270 (*a*))
532 *šikāyatē bika*: make a complaint (*šikāyat* F.)
539 *kāyazā tnivīsīt*: is writing letters (*kāyaz* F.)
542 *ču dangā naka*: make no noises (*dang* M.)
Am. 703A *šīvē lē nīn*: we shall cook supper (*šīv* F.)
720 *dô darsôkā thāvēt*: puts two kerchiefs (*darsôk* F.)
Bar. 730 *dā ǩayfē kan*: in order to make merry (*ǩayf* F.)

(ii) as Agent (*v.* also § 296 (*b*)),

Ak. 544 *mirôvakay gôtī*: the man said (*mirôv, -aka*)
533 *žinakē gôtē*: the woman said to him (*žin, -aka*)
Am. 704A *ťīǰārā gôlē*: the merchants said to him (*ťīǰār* M.)

(iii) with 'oblique' sense, when governed by a preposition,

Ak. 531 *a čyāy*: to the mountain (*čyā* M.)
533 *l filān ǰādē*: in such-and-such street (*ǰāda* F.)
556 *tgal qurbašayakī*: with a badger (*qurbaša* M.)
540 *wakô dizā*: like thieves (*diz* M.)
532 *p hašt dīnārā*: for eight dinars (*dīnār* M.)
Am. 703 *a āšī*: to the mill (*āš* M.)
703 *p sē ťivangā*: for three guns (*ťivang* F.)
704 *ž ǰûakī*: from a Jew (*ǰû, -ak* M.)
Zx. 790 *tgal makťablīā*: with the pupils (*makťablī* M.)

and when not so governed (*v.* also § 301 (*d*)),

Ak. 540 *har biskakē*: on each curl (*bisk*, *-ak* F.)
Am. 705 *dā nā 'ardakī*: camped in a place (*'ard*, *-ak* M.)

(iv) following the Izafe,

Ak. 532 *xudānē ʒayrī*: owner of the bird (*ʒayr* M.)
534 *mālā kābrāy*: the fellow's house (*kābrā* M.)
531 *xudānē dikānē*: owner of the shop (*dikān* F.)
536 *jē garmē*: place of warmth (*garm* F.)
Am. 705 *qabīlakā 'arabā*: a tribe of Arabs (*'arab* M.)
Bar. 730 *ḫākimēt bāžērī*: governors of the city (*bāžēr* M.)
Gul. 750 *pišt sa'ātakē*: after an hour (*sa'āt* F.)

(v) with adverbial sense (*v.* also § 305 (*a*)),

Ak. 531 *hamô rôžē*: daily (*rôž* F.)
531 *rôžakē*: one day
553 *hinda rôžā*: for some days
548 *hāvīnē*: in summer (*hāvīn* F.)
545 *sē čār qûnāyā*: for three or four stages (*qûnāy* F.)
Am. 703 *naqlakē*: once, at one time (*naql* F.)

Vocative

§ 262. (*a*) In the Vocative nouns denoting animate beings may take the following endings, with a forward shift of stress where possible:

	Sg. M.	F.	Pl. M. & F.
Sur.	*-a*	*-ē*	**-īna*
Ak.	*-ô*[1]	*-ē*	*-īna*
Am.–Zx.	*-ô*	*-ē*	*-īnô*
KK § 49 ff., BX. 20	*--ō*	*--ē*	*--(ī)nō*

Examples: M. Sg.

Sur. 510 *bāba*: fellow!
Ak. 545 *mārô*: snake!
Ak. 561, Bar. 730 *bābô*: father!
Am. — *kurô*: son!
Bar. 742 *kāfirô*: monster!

[1] This ending also appears forming hypocoristic names (cf. § 181 (*b*)), e.g. *milô* 'Mustafa', *ramô* 'Ramazan', *simkô* 'Ismail'. Cf. Nikitine's text, *BSOS*, III. 85.

**tatô w tamô . . . čūna nik ḫayô*: Tetu and Temu went up to Hayu

F. Sg.

Sur. 510 *źinē*: woman!
Ak. — *xuškē*: sister!
647 *dāykē*: mother!

(but note, *xučó* 'sister! sis!', perhaps with 'honorific' M. ending, cf. § 181 (*a*) fn.),

Am. — *kičē*: daughter!

Plural

Ak. — *qáḥḥa*yna: ye whores! (a girl to her young playmates)
Am. — *kúřīnô*, *kíčīnô*: boys! girls!
KK § 51 *xōrtnō*, *qīznō*: lads! lasses!

(*b*) Alternatively the uninflected noun may appear as a vocative, with a shift of stress to the first syllable where possible, e.g.

Ak. 564 *bírā*: brother! (*birá*)
691 *dā*: mother!

Preceded by a Vocative particle, such as *yā* 'O', a singular noun is generally uninflected, e.g.

Ak. 573 *yā xalīfa*: O caliph!

but contrast,

Gul. 761 *yā dāyē*: O mother!
762 *yā xālô*: O uncle!
KK § 50 *lē qīzē*, *lō köřō*: O girl! O son!

A noun qualified by any determinant takes no vocative ending, e.g.

Ak. 545 *ḥaywānē xudē*: God's creature!

A plural vocative is formed with *galī* as in Muk. (*v.* § 181 (*a*)). The noun then appears in the Oblique case, e.g.

Ak. — *galī bičûkā*: children!
Am. — *galī kuřā*: lads!

Izafe (*v.* § 182)

§ 263. (*a*) The Izafe appears in a variety of forms according to its functions. These may be classed as Individual and Generic forms. In certain dialects the Individual forms may be subdivided into Primary and Secondary forms.

All Izafe forms are realized enclitically and follow their antecedent in its uninflected form, even when it is grammatically Oblique (*v.* § 261 (*a*)).

(*b*) The functions of the Individual Izafe are:

(i) to connect a noun with a qualifying word which immediately follows it, be it an attributive adjective (§ 267), or a noun or pronoun in genitive relation to it or in apposition,

(ii) to introduce relative clauses (*v.* § 307 (*b*)).

(*c*) The Secondary forms appear:

(i) following a noun qualified by an indefinite suffix *-ak* (KK § 101, BX also *-(i)n*, *v.* § 259 (*a*) fn.); in Sur. also apparently following the suffix *-aka* and the adverbial suffix *-īś* (§ 305 (*b*)),

(ii) when a noun is qualified by two or more adjectives, joining the second and subsequent adjectives to the first (examples, KK § 100, Cukerman, op. cit., p. 136, BX 4). See also fn. 2, p. 206

Otherwise the Primary forms are used.

(*d*) The Generic Izafe serves to connect certain adjectives and nouns, particularly those forming part of a compound verb (§ 299), with their complements. It occurs also in certain compound prepositions (§ 303).

§ **264.** The Izafe has the following forms:

(*a*) Primary

	Sg. M.	F.	Pl. M. & F.
Sur.	*-ē*	*-ā*	*-ē*
All dialects, Ak.–Zx.	*-ē*	*-ā*	*-ē(t)*[1] (Ak. [-e:t'], Am., &c. [-e:t])
KK §§ 98, 99	*-ē*	*-ā*	*-ē(d)*
BX 1	*-ē*	*-ā*	*-ē(n)*[2]

[1] In literary texts from this area the Pl. forms *-ē di*, *-ē ti* occur, i.e. with a separate 'plural' particle (cf. § 183 (*c*)), e.g. *Aḫmadē Xānī*, '*Nūbār*' (dated A.H. 1094 = A.D. 1682), line 5.

کو بونه پیروی دِ وی

**kô bôna payrawē* di *wī*: who became his followers

Cl. Huart, 'Prière canonique musulmane', *Jl. As.* 1895, XCIII, dated *c.* A.D. 1780, metre *ramal-i maqṣūr* [*contd. p.* 159]

The M. Sg. and Pl. Izafe forms *-ē*, *-ēt* normally coalesce with preceding *a*, *ē*, e.g.

Sur. 511 *kōsē dīka*: the other swindler (*kōsa*)
Ak. 537 *albīsē xô*: his own clothes (*albīsa*)
545 *ǰē garmē*: place of warmth (*ǰē*)
542 *daraǰēt ʿusmānī*: the stairs of heaven (*daraǰa*)
Gul. 750 *pē xwa*, *pē wī*: his foot (*pē*)

but contrast,

Ak. 690 *ṣayē wī*: his dog (*ṣa*)

Note also

Am. 711A *birē min*: my brother (*birā*)

The F. Sg. Izafe *-ā* coalesces with preceding *a*, *ā*, e.g.

Ak. — *ôdā hanē*: yonder room (*ôda*)
588 *čā xô*: his own tea (*čā*)
Am. 709A *qahwā xô*: his own coffee (*qahwa*)

Note also

Ak. 565 *xwā wī*: his salt (*xwē*)

(*b*) Examples of the Primary Izafe with:

(i) a qualifying adjective,

Sur. 514 *karē dēza*: the grey ass (*kar* M.)
514 *har dū gāē dī*: both the other oxen (*gā* M.)

– ∪ – – / – ∪ – – / – ∪ –

verse 3. گر ڤچه دی اینی تو فرضی تِخو

**gar vi jīh dē inī tō farẓē* ti *xō*: if thou wilt carry out thy duties

cf. verse 4. دا به بیژم کینه فرضیت واجبه

**dā bibēžim kina farẓēt wājiba*: let me say which are the obligatory duties

In all dialects the form *-ē*, with no trace of the particle, may appear occasionally in the Plural.

[2] *Malāē J̌izrī* (*'Dīwān'*, ed. Hartmann, Berlin, 1904) has, beside **-ēn*, the form **-ēn di*, e.g. p. 217, metre *hazaǰ-i axrab-i makfūf-i maqṣūr*

– – ∪ / ∪ – – ∪ / ∪ – – ∪ / ∪ – –

چشمین دِ سِیَه را دکرن فتنه و خونان

**čašmēn* di *siyah r̄ā dikirin fitna u xūnān*: black eyes caused riot and bloodshed

نادَم بشمالین بشپالین د بهشتی

**nādam bi šamālēn*, *bi šapālēn* di *bihištī*: I shall not give (up your beauties, &c.) for the paradisian lights and beauties

See Kurdoev, KK § 100, note 2.

Ak. 533 *birāē māxtirē*: the eldest brother (*birā* M.)
548 *ṯāē hanē*: yonder bough (*ṯā* M.)
537 *xanǰarā pišik-zēr*: gold-studded dagger (*xanǰar* F.)
Am. 716 *ḥaywānēt ḵīvī*: wild animals (*ḥaywān* M.)

(ii) a noun or pronoun in genitive relation,

Ak. 539 *kuṙē min*: my son (*kuṙ* M.)
531 *dāykā xō*: his own mother (*dāyk* F.)
537 *xanǰarēt xō*: your own daggers (*xanǰar* F.)
Am. 703 *ḵarē wā*: their ass (*ḵar* M.)
712A *žinā hārônaṙašīdī*: Harun al-Rashid's wife (*žin* F.)
704 *ṯiǰārēt baγdā*: the merchants of Baghdad (*ṯiǰār* M.)
Bar. 727 *kuṙēt xwa*: his own sons
736 *kuṙē ḵēma*: whose son am I?
Zx. 779 *ǰilkēt xō*: my own clothes (*ǰilk* Pl.)

(*c*) Secondary

	Sg. M.	F.	Pl. M. & F.
Sur.	*-ī*	*-ā*	
Ak., Am.	*-ē*	*-ā* (= Primary, *v.* (*a*) above)	
Bar.	*-ī*	*-ā*	
Gul.	*-ī*	*-a*/*-Ø*	
Zx.	*-ī*/*-Ø*	*-ī*/*-a*/*-Ø*	
KK § 100 ff., BX 20	*-ī*	*-a*	*-a*

Examples:

Sur. 525 *mirōwakī faqīrim*: I am a poor man (*mirōw* M.)
512 *šīwakā xōš*: a nice soup (*šīw* F.)
517 *mirōwakay xwārē*: the lower man (*-aka*)
519 *tanakaš dōšāwē*: the tin of syrup also (*tanaka* M., *-(ī)š*)
Ak. 531 *ṯayrakē zēṙ*: a gold bird (*ṯayr* M.)
548 *dārakā māzin*: a big tree (*dār* F.)
Am. 722 *'ardakē hûn*: a cool place (*'ard* M.)
718 *qazāyakā kavn*: an ancient district (*qazā* F.)
Bar. 728 *ēīmakī wān*: an orphan from among them (*ēīm* M.)
Gul. — *zāxō ǰīhakī xwaša*: Zakho is a pleasant place (*ǰīh* M.)
767 *t kutilīkaka maẓindā*: in a big rissole (*kutilīk* F.)
Zx. — *mirōvakī maẓin*: a big man (*mirōv* M.)
— *mēzaka bičûk*: a small table (*mēz* F.)

774 *ǰārak( ) dī*
781 *ǰārakī dī* } again, another time (*ǰār* F.)
773 *ṕirakī bilind*: a high bridge (*ṕir* F.)
775 *kičikakī dalāl*: a beautiful girl (*kičīk* F.)

(*d*) Generic (see also § 303)

All dialects Sur.–Zx., KK, BX *-ī*, e.g.

Ak. 558 *dē gāzī ta kam*: I shall call thee (*gāz kirin*)
602 *nēzīkī ḫākimī bō*: was near the judge (*nēzīk*)
603 *taslīmī . . . wazīrī bika*: give it to the vizier (*taslīm kirin*)

Am. *passim, pištī hingī*: after that, afterwards (*pišt* F.)
714 *šibaṫī gurg*: such as wolves (*šibaṫ*)

Following a noun, &c., ending in *ī* no Izafe is realized, e.g.

Ak. 558 *dē hēma hārī ta*: I shall come to thy aid (*hārī*)
567 *taẓī zēr*: full of gold (*taẓī*)
608 *mēvānī min kirbō*: had entertained me (*mēvānī* (F.) *kirin*)

(*e*) A noun in partitive relation to another generally appears without the Izafe, e.g.

Sur. 514 *hindak pāra*: a little money
Ak. 544 *hindak āx*: a little soil
Am. 709 *hindak aw zibil*: a little of that dung

Contrast the following forms with the (? Secondary) Izafe (cf. § 184 (*c*)),[1]

Ak. 531 *pištēkē dārā*: a load of sticks (*pištī* M.)
533 *dastakē ǰilkēt ẓinā*: a suit of women's clothes (*dasta* M.)

§ 265. The nominal suffixes[2]

A. *-aká* (§ 258 (*b*)), C. *ʿak* (§ 259), and D. *-á* (§ 258 (*c*))

are mutually exclusive. This is equally the case with the endings

E. oblique case *-ī, -ē, -ā* (§ 261),

and F. Izafe *-ē, -ā, -ēt; -ī, -a* (§ 264).

[1] See now Kurdoev, *Numerativnye slova*, p. 34, where a distinction is made between the numerative use of certain words, e.g. *ravōkak hasp* 'a (one) hérd of horses', and the attributive use with the Izafe, e.g. *ravōkā haspā* 'a herd of hórses, a hórse-herd'.

[2] Cf. §§ 178, 187. Note that Sul., &c., B *-ān* is transferred to the position of Ak., &c., E *-ā*, while Ak., &c., F *-ēt* replaces Sul., &c., BF *-ānī*.

A representative of the group A C D always precedes E or F in order of suffixation to a noun. Thus the possibilities of combination are:

A	Sur. 508	*mirōwaka*: the man
AE	Ak. 533	*gôta žinakē*: said to the woman
AF	Sur. 517	*mirōwakay xwārē*: the lower man
C	Sur. 508	*žinak ū mirōwak*: a woman and a man
CE	Ak. 540	*har biskakē*: on each curl
	Ak. 592	*čār pēnǰ daf'akā*: four or five times
CF	Am. 718	*qazāyakā kavn*: an ancient district
D	Zx. 775	*av p̱ira*: this bridge
DE	Ak. 531	*vī ţayray nākirī*: won't you buy this bird?
E	Sur. 507	*āxē dē kōrin*: they will dig up earth
F	Ak. 531	*dāykā xó*: his own mother
	Am. 716	*ḫaywānēt kīvī*: wild animals

Demonstrative Izafe

§ 266. (*a*) The Demonstrative Izafe has the following main functions. It appears:

(i) before a noun or pronoun, giving the group a possessive sense,

(ii) before an adjective, to which it gives substantive sense (often, however, untranslatable),

(iii) before certain verbal forms, materially altering the sense (*v.* §§ 309, 313).

It may, moreover, alternate with the Individual Izafe (§ 263 (*b*)), particularly when a qualifying adjective, noun, or phrase is separated from the word qualified by any word other than a *like* qualifier.

(*b*) The Demonstrative Izafe has the following forms:

	Sg. M.	F.	Pl. M. & F.
Sur.	*y/wē*	*y/wā*	*y/wē*
All dialects, Ak.–Gul.	*y/wē*	*y/wā*	*y/wēt*
Zx.	*y/wē*	*y/wē, y/wā*	*y/wēt*
KK § 126	*yē*	*yā*	*yēd*
BX 4	*yē*	*yā*	*yēn*

With the forms *yē*, &c., the initial *y* is frequently not realized, particularly when following a consonant, and the remaining vowel

is then (except occasionally in Zx., Fem.) formally identical with the Individual Izafe (§ 264 (*a*)).

Either the form *yē* or the Plural Izafe particle *t* (*v.* § 264 (*a*) fn.) may appear alone for the combined form *yēt*.

The forms *wē*, &c., appear in all dialects with the demonstrative adjective *hanē*, &c. (§ 271 (*b*)), and in Gul., Zx. particularly with the verb *habīn* (cf. § 293).

(*c*) Examples:

(i) with nouns, &c.,

Ak. — *av kitēba* yēt mi*nin*: these books are mine
— yā hāšimī *māztira*: Hashim's (daughter) is bigger

(ii) with adjectives,

Sur. 517 *maz* yē xwārē: in front of the lower one
530 *gōrīā* yē dī: the other one's turn

Ak. 534 *ava* yēt xôš*in*, yēt naxôš *dē l dû hēn*: these are the pleasant things, the unpleasant ones will come later
562 yē dwē . . . yē sēyē: the second . . . third one
596 *žinkēt wān* t xirāb *bin*: their wives are bad ones
622 *gôta* yē fala: said to the Christian fellow

Am. 722 *ḫačīka* yē dī*a*: as for the other one
705 *mišk* t miša *bôn*: mice were numerous
713 yā garm *bô*: it was (a) warm (one)

(iii) qualifier separated from qualified,

Ak. — *lēvā min* yā xārē: my lower lip
685 *wakīlē xô* yē ʿām: his own general agent
697 *kurē wē awwil* (**wē* yē awwil): her first son

Gul. 751 *birāēt wī* yēt dīka: his other brothers
752 *mi kičā xô* yā dāē, yā mazin: I have given him my eldest daughter

[contrast,

Zx. — *min kičā xô* yā mazin yē dāē: ditto]

Zx. — *birāyak min* yē maṣfir *ž vī*: a brother of mine older than this one

ADJECTIVES

§ 267. (*a*) All adjectives, except when used substantively, are inflexible. Attributive adjectives normally follow the noun they qualify with the Izafe (§ 263 (*b*)). An attributive adjective separated

from the noun it qualifies is normally preceded by the Demonstrative Izafe (§ 266 (*c*) (iii)).

(*b*) In Am., Zx. a noun qualifying another, be it in genitive relation or in apposition to the qualified noun, may appear in the form of a 'transient' attributive adjective with the suffix *-ē*. Reliable examples are, however, rare.

Am. — *mēšā hingvīnē*: honey bee [contrast
Ak. — *mēšā hingvīnī*: honey bee (*hingvīn* M.)]
Am. 719 *dargahē zēbārē*: the Zebar Gate
Zx. — *ʦarmē niẖē*: the Great Bear (lit. 'Noah's body')
776 *dārakī banôkē*: a terebinth tree (*banôk*)
777 *ʃôā ẖāzim bagē*: the Hazim Beg channel [contrast
— *ʃôā bagī*: the Beg's channel (*bag* M.)]
787 *liwā silēmānīē*: in Suleimaniye province

Comparison

§ 268. (*a*) The morpheme Sur., Ak. *-tir*, Am., &c., *-tir* (i.e. all dialects [-t'ir]) added to the simple adjectival form yields the comparative adjective. This behaves exactly as a positive adjective.

The following irregular comparatives occur:

Ak. — *māz/stir* 'bigger' < *māzin* 'big'
Zx., &c. *maʃtir* < *maʒin*
Ak. — *čētir* 'better' : *bāš* 'good'

(*b*) The morpheme *-ē* added to the comparative adjective forms a superlative adjective (*v.* also § 274 (*a*)). This also follows the qualified noun with the Izafe, like a positive adjective, e.g.

Ak. 533 *birāē māz*tirē: the eldest brother
598 *birāē gička*tirē: the younger brother (of two)

Note. In Rwn. *har* yields a type of superlative with a following adjective to which it is joined by the Secondary Izafe (cf. § 190 (*c*)), e.g.

Rwn. — *dawlatā* hara *dēmōkrātī*: the most democratic state
— *zāṙ . . . ē* harī *ʒulât*: the most daring child

Certain adjectives

§ 269. (*a*) Adjectives of the following categories immediately precede the noun they qualify:

(i) the demonstrative adjectives *av*, *aw* (§ 270),
(ii) cardinal numbers (§ 273),
(iii) the following interrogative and indefinite adjectives,

či, Sur. *ći* 'what, whatever'
Ak. *ču*, Am. *či* (KK *čō*, BX 52 *tu*) 'any'
čand 'some, how much'
filān 'such-and-such'
galak 'many'
hamô, *hamī*, Sur. *hama*, *hamū* 'all'
(*av*)*hinda* 'so much'
har 'whatever'
Ak. *kī*, Am., &c., *kī* 'what, which' (Obl. also *kē*, perhaps influenced by the equivalent pronoun, § 278 (*a*))

but **not**

dī(*ka*) 'other'
Ak. *wa*(*tuv*), Zx. *waṣā* 'such'

(*b*) Examples. Interrogative and indefinite adjectives:

Sur. 510 *az* hama *rōžē* . . . *akirim*: every day I buy . . .
512 *ći šīw lē nāya*: what supper has been cooked
Ak. 542 *ču dangā naka*: make no noises
596 *čand daf'ā žinā min čō*: how many times did my wife go?
589 *kuřē* filān *kasī*: the son of such-and-such person
— galak *mirôv hātin*: many men came
550 hamô *sālē*: every year
597 *l* hinda *ganimay*: with so much wheat (*v.* § 258 (*c*))
578 har *kasakē xāīn bīt*: whatever person be treacherous
607 *aw* kī *faqīra*: which poor man is that?
593 *l* kī *mamlakatī*: in what country
596 *t zamānē* kī *ḫākimīdā*
582 *l zamānē* kē *ḫākimī* } in the time of what ruler
583 *l* kē *maḫalē*: in which quarter?
Am. 719 *či minára* . . . *nīnin*: there are no minarets
710 *či tišt nāvdā nabôn*: there was nothing inside them
711A *čand xalkē baydā*: so many people of Baghdad
706A hamī *mišk řavīn*: all the mice fled
725 har *kas* . . . *nalētin*: whatever person cannot . . .
711 *š kī dirkē*: from what place?

but,

Ak. 532 *ēkī* dīka: another one
— *tištakē* watuv *min dīt*: I saw such a thing
Zx. 781 *mirôvakī* waṣā: such a man

Demonstrative adjectives

§ 270. (*a*) All dialects Ak.–Zx. have two inflecting demonstrative adjectives which precede the noun they qualify, viz. *av* 'this', *aw* 'that'.[1] Sur. has the one form *aw* 'this, that' (cf. § 192 (*a*)).

A noun qualified by Ak., &c., *av*, but **not** *aw*, is normally followed by the defining suffix *-a* (§ 258 (*c*)).[2] In Sur. there is some evidence of the distinction between *aw* . . . *-a* 'this' and *aw* . . . 'that', e.g.

Sur. 506 aw *ganim-īn kēlā*: we took that wheat
526 aw *fēra*: this trick

The occurrence of the suffix *-a* with nouns qualified by *av* in the Oblique cases varies according to the dialect. Thus the following combinations are attested:

'this'	Sur.	Ak.	Am., Bar.
Dir. Sg. & Pl.	*aw* . . . *-a*	*av* . . . *-a*	*av* . . . *-a*
Obl. Sg. M.	*aw*[3] . . . *-a*[y]	*vī* . . . *-a*[y]	(*a*)*vī* . . . [ī]
Sg. F.	*awē* . . . [ē]	(*a*)*vē* . . . [ē]	*vē* . . . *-a* Am. . . . [ē] Bar.
Pl. M. & F.		*vā*(*n*) . . . [ā]	*vā* . . . [ā]

'that'	All dialects
Dir. Sg. & Pl.	*aw* . . .
Obl. Sg. M.	(*a*)*wī* . . . [ī]
Sg. F.	*wē* . . . [ē]
Pl. M. & F.	(*a*)*wā*(*n*) . . . [ā]

[1] Cf. KK §§ 95 ff. 'definite article' *avā*, *awā*, &c.

[2] A Direct Plural ending *-ana* in conjunction with *av* was said to exist in Ak., Am., but not generally heard, e.g.
Ak. — av *kitêbana*: these books
Am. — av *tištana*: these things
Cf. Bar. 728 av *halwayna*: these Helweis (people of Helwe)

[3] i.e. no M. Sg. Obl. form of the adjective *aw* was attested in Sur. This may have been fortuitous. In the Gul. texts the Dir. form is often used for the Obl., e.g.
Gul. 751 aw *xazālē bikuštt*: to kill that gazelle
750 *bô mālā* aw *kāfirī*: for the house of that monster
but 750 *l* wī *milê wī*: in that shoulder of his

where the forms in [square brackets] represent the appropriate nominal inflexion.

From this it is possible to deduce the following basic paradigm for the adjective alone:

	'this'	'that'
Dir. Sg. & Pl.	*av . . . -a*	*aw*
Obl. Sg. M.	*(a)vī . . . -a*	*(a)wī*
Sg. F.	*(a)vē . . . -a*	*(a)wē*
Pl. M. & F.	*(a)vā(n) . . . -a*	*(a)wā(n)*

The fuller Obl. forms *avī*, &c., appear mainly following a pause.

(*b*) Examples:

(i) *av*, &c.

Ak. 547 av *māra*: this snake (*mār* M.)
612 av *māsīa či tkan*: what are these fishes doing? (*māsī* M.)
596 *l* vī *šiftīay zyatir*: other than this watermelon (*šiftī* M.)
531 vī *ʒayray nākirī*: won't you buy this bird? (*ʒayr* M.)
— *l* vē *ōdē*: in this room (*ōda* F.)
573 vē *ḫālē*: in this case (*ḫāl* F.)
622 *mawʃódā* vā *pārā*: what is present of these monies (*pāra* Pl.)
622 vān *pārā . . . bibava*: take these monies back

Am. 703 av *ǩara*: this ass (*ǩar* M.)
706 *dē* vī *ḫaywānī firōšī*: wilt thou sell this animal? (*ḫaywān* M.)
706A *ž* vē *dirǩa*: from this place (*dirǩ* F.)
717 vē *ǰāra*: this time (*ǰār* F.)
706 *dē* vā *milkā dar ēxim*: I shall drive out these mice (*milk* M.)

Bar. 730 av *bāžēra*: this town (*bāžēr* M.)
726 *l* vī *gundī*: in this village (*gund* M.)
726 *sarē* vē *škafčē*: above this cave (*škafč* F.)

Zx. 775 av *ṕira*: this bridge (*ṕir* F.)

(ii) *aw*, &c.

Sur. 510 aw *kōsay gōtē*: *that* swindler said to her (*kōsa* M.)
515 *tabī* aw *karay law mirōway har bistīnī*: thou must certainly take *this* ass from *this* man

Ak. — *kā* aw *kitēb*: where are those books?
571 aw *širīkē ma*: that partner of ours (*širīk* M./F.)
539 *ḫākimē* wī *jēy*: ruler of that place (*jē* M.)
544 awī *mirôvī či kir*: what did that man do? (*mirôv* M.)
587 *čô bô* wē *maḥalē*: went to that quarter (*maḥala* F.)
561 wān *dizā ma'yan kir*: those thieves decided (*diz* M.)
618 *l* wā *sī hizār ṟupīēt ḫarām*: than those thirty thousand illicit rupees
Am. 706 aw *mirôv*: those men
706 *xalkē* wī *gundī*: people of that village (*gund* M.)
706A wē *dirkē*: in that place (*dirk* F.)
709 awā *tîǰārā dīt*: those merchants saw (*tîǰār* M.)
710 *gāzī kira* wā *mirôvā*: he called to those men

§ 271. (*a*) All dialects have a further, inflexible, demonstrative adjective, Sur. *hē*, Ak.–Zx. *ha(nē)*, Bar. *hana* (KK § 120 *hān*, BX 45 *hā*, *Xālidī*, s.v. *awēhā*, *hā(nē)*) 'yonder, here'. It either follows the noun or pronoun it qualifies with the Izafe, or may appear independently with the Demonstrative Izafe, e.g.

Ak. — *l ôdā* hanē: in that room (yonder) (*ôda* F.)
546 *a lālī binadārā* hanē: to that tree-trunk (*binadār* F.)
572 *qurbānī faqīrē* hanē: the sacrifice of that beggar (*faqīr* M.)
549 *yā* hanē *čēlaka*: yonder (thing) is a cow (*čēl* F.)
551 *yē'* hanē *ṟīvîaka*[1]: see! yonder is a fox (*ṟīvî* M.)

It frequently appears in conjunction with either of the inflecting demonstrative adjectives (§ 270), e.g.

Ak. 548 av *ṭāē* hanē: this (here) bough (*ṭā* M.)
Bar. 726 *sarē* wē *škaftā* hana: above that cave yonder (*škaft* F.)
Zx. 773 av *p̀irā* hanē: this (here) bridge (*p̀ir* F.)

(*b*) With this adjective the forms *wē*, *wā*, *wēt* of the Demonstrative Izafe (§ 266 (*b*)) commonly occur, forming in effect a demonstrative pronoun, e.g.

Ak., Am. — wē hanē *čîya*: what is yonder thing?
— wēt hanē *čîna*: what are those?
Am. 719 *nîvakā* wē hanē *ǰādana*: in the middle of that (place) there are roads
Gul. — wēt ha *yēt minin*: those are mine

[1] *yē'* [je::ʔ] with 'emphatic' lengthening of the vowel and glottal stop.

Cardinal Numerals

§ 272

	Sur.[1]	Ak.	Am., Bar.	Zx., Gul.	Shn.
1	*yĕk*	*yak, (y)ĕk*	*ĕk*	—[2]	—
2	*dū*	*dŏ*	—	—	*dū*
3	*sĕ*	*sĕ*	—	—	—
4	*ćăr*	*čăr*	—	—	—
5	*pĕnj*	*pĕnj*	—	—	—
6	*šaš*	*šaš*	—	—	—
7	*haft*	*haft*	*ḫaft*	*ḫaft*	*hāft* [sic]
8	*halt*	*halt*	*halt*	*halt*	*halt*
9	*nŏ*	*na(h)*	*nah*	*nah*	*na*
10	*da*	*da(h)*	*da*	*dah*	*da*
11	*yāzda*	*yānzda*	*yānzda*	*yāẓda*	*yānzda*
12	*dwāzda*	*dwānzda*	*dānzda*	*dwāẓda*	*dwānzda*
13	*sēzda*	*sēzda*	—	—	—
14	*ćārda*	*čārda*	—	—	—
15	*pānzda*	*pānzda*	*pānzda*	*pāẓda*	*pānzda*
16	*šānzda*	*šānzda*	*šānzda*	*šāẓda*	*šānzda*
17	*havda*	*havda*	*havda* [sic]	*ḫavda*	*havda* [sic]
18	*hažda*	*hažda*	—	—	—
19	*nōzda*	*nōzda*	*nānzda*	*nōẓda*	*nōzda*
20	*bīst*	*bīst*	*bīst*	*bīst*	*bīst*
30	*sī*	*si(h)*	*sih*	*sih*	*sī*
40	*čil*	*čil*	—	—	—
50	*pĕnja*	*pĕnja*	*pĕnja* Bar. *pĕnjah*	*pĕnjī* Gul. *pĕnjih*	*pĕnjī*
60	*šĕst*	*šĕst*	*šĕst*	*šĕst*	*šĕst*
70	*haftē*	*haftē*	*ḫaftē*	*ḫaftē*	*hāfti*
80	*haštē*	*haštē*	*haštē*	*haštē*	*hafti*
90	*nŏt*	*nŏt*	—	—	*nŏt*
100	*sad*	*ṣad*	—	—	—
1,000		*hizār*	—	—	*hazār*
1 m.		*malyŏn*			

[1] Sur., Ak., Shn. *p*, *t*, *k* always aspirated, Am.–Zx. *p*, *t*, *k* unaspirated. Sur., Shn. *ŏ*, *ū* [o:, u:], Ak.–Zx. *ŏ*, *û* [u:, y:].

[2] — signifies 'the same form as that noted to the left'.

§ 273. (*a*) Cardinal numbers immediately precede the noun they qualify (*v.* § 269).

A cardinal used substantively, or a noun qualified by a cardinal number, takes the Plural Obl. ending *-ā(n)* (§ 261 (*b*)) when appropriate, e.g.

Direct

Ak. 545 *ava* sĕ čăr *ŕôž-a*: this is three or four days
598 sĕ čăr *dirham habin*: if there be three or four dirhams
Am. 705 sĕ *mirŏv ŕā wasŕyān*: three men were standing

Oblique

Sur. 510 *az dē* dūā *dama tū*: I shall give thee two
Ak. 565 *sēā piltīēt xô dā girtin*: three put down their loads (*v.* § 296 (*b*))
545 *sē čār qûnāyā*: for three or four stages
592 *čār pēnj daf'akā*: for four or five times (*v.* § 259 (*c*))
Am. 704 *šaš ǧindôqā čē ka*: make six chests!

(*b*) With certain numbers (generally 'round' numbers—tens, hundreds, &c.) the qualified noun may take the ending *-ī*, giving the sense of 'about . . .',[1] e.g.

Ak. 583 *amrē wī galtīa* ǧad ô čil *sālī*: his age has reached about 140 years

Ordinal

§ 274. (*a*) Ordinal numbers are formed from the cardinals by the addition of the morpheme *-ē* (cf. Rdz. *-am-ē* § 195 (*b*), also § 268 (*b*)), e.g.

Ak., &c., *čārē* 'fourth', *pēnǰē* 'fifth', *nôǰē* 'ninetieth'

The final *a* of the numbers 11–19 is absorbed by the ending *-ē*, thus:

sēzdē 'thirteenth', *hāždē* 'eighteenth'

Note the following irregular forms:

	Sur.	Ak.	Am., Bar.	Zx., Gul.	Shn.
1st	*hawwil*	*awwil(ī)*	*awwil*	*awwilī*	*'awil*
2nd	*dwē*	*dwē*	*dôē*	*dôē*	*dūē*
3rd	*sêyē*	*sêyē*	*sêē*	*sêē*	*sêē*
30th	*sīē*	*sīhē*	*sīhē*	*sīhē*	
50th		*pēnǰahē*	*pēnǰahē*	*pēnǰīē* Gul. *pēnǰīhē*	
70th		*haftêyē*		*ḥaftīē* Gul. *ḥaftē*	*hāftīē*

(*b*) Ordinals follow the noun they qualify with the Izafe. With large numbers, only the last member takes the ordinal ending, e.g.

Zx. 787 *sālā hizār ô nahṣad ô pēnǰī ô* dôē: in 1952 (lit. 'in the 1950-and-second year')

[1] See Cukerman, op. cit. (i), p. 114, where many Rwn. examples.

PRONOUNS

Personal

§ 275. (*a*) All dialects present a system of six personal pronouns, each with Direct and Oblique case forms. In all but Sur., however, the pronoun of the 3rd person Sg. and Pl. is formally identical with the *remote* demonstrative pronoun and is described as such, § 277.

Suffix forms occur only in Sur. They are:

Sg. *-im*, *-it*, *-ī*; Pl. *-īn* [sic], *-ū*, *-yān* (cf. § 197 (*a*))

The independent forms are:

		Sur.(1)	Ak.	Am., Bar.	Zx., Gul.(2)	Shn.
Direct						
Sg.	1	*az*	*az*(3)	*az*(3)	*az*	*az*
	2	*atū*	(*a*)*tô*	*tô*	*tô*	*tū*
	3	*aw*				
Pl.	1	*amā*(4)	*am*	*am*	*am*	*am*
	2	*angō*	*hu/ing*	*hing*	*hûn*	*hūn*
	3	*aw*(*ān*)				
Oblique						
Sg.	1	(*a*)*min*	(*a*)*min*	*mi*(*n*)	*mi*(*n*)	*min*
	2	(*a*)*tū*	(*a*)*ta*	*ta*	*ta*	*ta*
	3	(*a*)*wī*				
Pl.	1	(*a*)*ma*	(*a*)*ma*	*ma*	*ma*	*ma*
	2	(*a*)*ngō*	(*hu/i*)*ngô*	(*hi*)*nga*, Bar. *hawa*	*wa*	*wā* [sic]
	3	(*a*)*wān*				

NOTES:

(1) See § 272, fn. 1, on the realization of *t* and *ô*, *û*.

(2) Cf. KK § 118, BX 24, Dir. *az*, *tu* (KK *tô*), *am*, *hūn* (BX *hōn*), Obl. *min*, *ta*, *ma*, *wa*.

(3) In conjunction with the adverbial suffix Ak. *-īš*, and Am., &c., *-īt* (§ 305 (*b*)) the 1st Sg. Direct pronoun appears as Ak. *ayš*, Am., &c., *aīt*, e.g.

Ak. 542 ayš *dē* . . . *kam*: I too shall do . . .
561 ayš *dizim*: I too am a thief

Ak. 697 ažī *dē hēm* [sic]
Am. 704 ažī *dē . . . hēm* } I too shall come
Gul. 756 ažī *čōm*: I too went
Zx. 779 ažī *dē xō āvēžim*: I too shall throw myself in

(4) Sur. *ā* being [a:] (*v.* § 106), and not [a:], the example Sur. 508 *amā rūsīn* 'we are naked' may be **ama a rūsīn* (*v.* fn. 1, p. 206). But Sur. — *amā dē čīna ākrē* 'we are going to Akre' cannot be so explained.

(*b*) The personal pronoun forms have the same functions as the corresponding nominal case forms (§ 261 (*a*)).

The fuller Obl. case forms, *amin*, &c., appear principally as agent in the Passive construction (§ 296) and generally after a pause. The shorter forms, *min*, &c., appear in all functions of the oblique case.

(*c*) Examples:

(i) Direct

Sur. 529 atū *la bō atirsēy*: why art thou afraid?
522 amay *kuštīn*[1]: he has killed us
518 angō *nābīnin*: do you not see?
Ak. 534 az *aḥmadē pīrikēma*: I am Ahmed (son) of the old woman
539 atō *kīy*: who art thou?
545 *min* tō . . . *īnāy*[1]: I brought thee
561 am *dizīn*: we are thieves
559 hung *bō nāhēn*: why do you not come?
560 hung *kīna*: who are you?
Am. 703 am *dē bayn*: we shall take . . .
707 hing *žī harin*: go ye also!
Bar. 736 az *kurē kēma*: whose son am I?
Zx. 781 *aw* hûn *čī tkin*: what is that you are doing?

(ii) Suffix

Sur. 506 *hinārdim*[1]: I sent (him)
529 *kapī lē girt ū lēy birī*[1]: he seized his nose and cut it off
506 *kārīnakīn čē kir*[1]: we built a straw-store

[1] Agent oblique (in Sur., suffix), *v.* passive construction, § 296.

(iii) Oblique

Sur. 509 *nērīē* tū: thy goat
516 *bifirōša* ma: sell it to us
519 *la bō*-ngō: for you
Ak. 533 *mālā* min: my house
547 amin . . . *hal girt*[1]: I picked (it) up
533 *mālā* ta: thy house
554 ata . . . *dirō kir*[1]: thou liedst
556 *dē* ma *xōt*: it will eat us
630 ama *sūnd* . . . *xār*[1]: we swore an oath
534 *birāē* hungō: your brother
546 *bāpīrē*-ngō: your ancestor
Am. 710 *daynē* mi *bidanava*: repay my loan
710 *muqāwilā* min *ō* hinga: the bond between me and you
703 *kēr* ma *nāhēt*: it is no good to us
704A *mā*-nga *šōla*: is it any affair of yours?
Bar. 735 mi *ṣad dīnār* . . . *dā*[1]: I gave 100 dinars
727 min *ēlārat dā* hawa: I gave you the signal
Gul. 768 *nižda hāt sar* ma: a raiding party has come upon us
749 *wasīā* min *l* wa *bit*: let this be my testament to you
Zx. 781 *šarma bō* wa: it is a shameful thing for you
Shn. — *xātirē* wā: good-bye to you!

Reflexive

§ 276. (*a*) The reflexive pronoun has one form, Direct and Oblique, Sur. *xō*, Ak., Am., Zx. *xō*, Bar. *xō*, *xwa*, Gul. *xwa* (KK § 122, BX 36 *xwa*). It refers always to the subject of the verb or, in the Passive construction (§ 296), to the agent, e.g.

Ak. 531 *dā batava bō* xō: used to take it back for himself
537 *hung xanjarēt* xō . . . *dā nēn*: put your daggers down
540 xō *hižānd*: (he) shook himself
Am. 712 *jū hāta daynē* xō: the Jew came for his debt
Bar. 726 *qasrā* xwa *dā nā*: he placed his mansion
748 *xūškā* xwa *bida min*: give me your sister
Gul. 750 *dastnivēžā* xwa *šūšt*: he performed his ablutions

(*b*) The pronoun *xō*, &c., appears in conjunction with the

[1] Agent oblique, v. passive construction, § 296.

preposition *p*[1] (BX 32 also *bi xwa*, but KK § 122 has *xwa-xwa*) with the intensive sense 'my-, him-, &c., -self', e.g.

Ak. 531 p xô *dā čīta čyāy*: he would himself go to the mountains
Am. 725 *ḥačīka xalkē wā gundā* p xôya: as for the people of those villages themselves
Zx. 771 *t nafsē zāxô* p xôdā: in the actual (town of) Zakho itself

Demonstrative

§ **277.** (*a*) All dialects Ak.–Zx. have two demonstrative pronouns, proximate and remote, each having Dir. and Obl. case forms.

The proximate pronoun, Ak., &c., *ava*, combines in the Dir. case the forms of the demonstrative adjective *av* (§ 270) and the defining suffix *-a* (§ 258 (*c*)). The remote pronoun *aw* is formally identical with the corresponding adjective (§ 270) and also serves as 3rd Sg. and Pl. personal pronoun (*v.* § 275 (*a*)).

Sur. has the same forms as Arb., &c. (*v.* § 202 (*a*)), viz. *awa* 'this', *aw* 'that (absent)', and, with the inflexible demonstrative adjective *hē* (§ 271), *awēhē* 'that yonder'.

The forms attested are:

	Sur.	Ak., &c.	Cf. KK §§ 120, 134	BX 45	
Direct					
Sg.	*awa*	*ava*	*av(ā)*	*av*	'this'
Pl.	?		*(a)vānā*		
Oblique					
Sg. M.	*way*	*(a)vī*	*(a)vī*	*vī*	
F.	?	*vē*	*(a)vē*	*vē*	
Pl.	?	*vā(na)*	*(a)vānā*	*vān*	
Direct					
Sg.	*aw(ēhē)*	*aw*	*aw(ā)*	*aw*	'that'
Pl.	?		*(a)wānā*		('he')
Oblique					
Sg. M.		*(a)wī*	*(a)wī*	*wī*	
F.		*wē*	*(a)wē*	*wē*	
Pl.		*(a)wā(n)*, Zx. *wānā*	*(a)wānā*	*wān*	

[1] Cf. Arb. *ba xō*, with the same sense. The Ak., &c., form is often indistinguishable from *bô xô* > *bu xô* 'for himself', &c., *v.* § 148.

The fuller Oblique forms, *avī*, &c., appear principally as agent in the Passive construction (§ 296) and generally after a pause.

(*b*) Examples:

(i) Direct

Sur. — awēhē *čiya*: what is that?
524 awa *čiya*: what is this?
Ak. 591 ava *yē xirāba*: this one is bad
541 aw *kīa*: who is that?
591 aw *birava*[1]: that one was taken back
535 aw *taḥayir mān*: they were amazed
Am. 710 ava *ma či kir*[1]: what is this we have done?
703 aw *ṭā bôn*: they got up
710 aw *nīna*: is it not that?
Bar. 726 aw *ẍī*: he too

(ii) Oblique

Sur. — *xatāē* way *bū*: it was this one's fault
Ak. 591 vī *bibava*: take this one back
558 *az* . . . vāna *nāxôm*: I shall not eat these
565 awī *či kir*[1]: what did he do?
534 *birāēt* wī: his brothers
549 *lālī* wē: next to her
535 *birāē* wā: their brother
536 *gôta* wān[1]: said to them
537 awān *gôtē*[1]: they said to him
537 awā *či kir*[1]: what did they do?
Am. 709 *hing dē* . . . awī *danav min*: you will give me that back
703 *ḳarē* wā: their donkey
706 awā *gôlē*[1]: they said to him . . .
Bar. 743 awī *šīrak girḳ*[1]: he seized a sword
726 *bô* wān: for them
Gul. 760 *birāē* wē *hāt*: her brother came
749 *bābē* wān *mir*: their father died
Zx. 772 *šôlē* wānā *avaya*: this is their work

Interrogative

§ 278. (*a*) The following interrogative pronouns, and related adverbs, occur (cf. adjectives, § 269 (*a*) (iii)):

[1] Passive construction, *v.* § 296.

čī (*čī* only in pause, and in the fixed adverb *bó čī* 'why?'), Oblique (rare) *čē*; Sur. *č(i)* 'what?'[1]

čand, Obl. Sur. *čandī/i*, Ak., &c., *čandē* 'how much?'

čituv (Sur. *kū*, Gul. *? ku*, Am., &c., *čāwā*, KK § 367 *čitō*, *čāwā*) 'how?'

kī, Obl. *kē* (Am., &c., *kī*, *kē*) 'who?'

kangī (KK § 367 *kangē*) 'when?'

Am. *kīlk* (KK § 141 *kīžān*, BX 51 *kīžik*) 'which?'

Examples:

Sur. — *čū xwārd*[2]: what did you eat?
520 kū *bū*: how was it?
Ak. 537 *awā* či *kir*[2]: what did they do?
560 *hung* čina: what are you?
561 *ató* či *tzānī*: what dost thou know?
667 *bar* čē: for what (reason)?
Ak. 531, Am. 706 *p* čandē: for how much?
Ak. 595 čituv *bó*: how was it?
539 *ató* kīy: who art thou?
564 kī *kurē* kēya: who is son of whom?
546 *lālī* kē: to whom?
— kangī *dē hēt*: when will he come?
Am. 711 *ma* či *kir*[2]: what have we done?
706A čiya: what is it?
— kīna: who are we/you/they?
— *ava* kē *dā nā*[2]: who put this down?
712 čāwā *fú . . . bibat*: how can the Jew take . . .?
Bar. 736 *az kurē* kēma: whose son am I?
Gul. 756 ku *lē hātin*: how have they fared?
Zx. 774 kē *kužīn*: whom should we kill?

(*b*) The form *kā(nē)*, Am., &c., *kā(nē)*[3] contains the sense of a verb, 'where is, are . . .?', e.g.

[1] As an indefinite pronoun *čī* has an obl. pl. form *čyā*,
Ak. 636 čyā *az bēžima ta*: whatever (things) I may say to you
[2] Passive construction, *v.* § 296.
[3] The same form has another, seemingly untranslatable, use, e.g.
Ak. 639 kā *bizānin čī haya, čī nīa*: let us go and see what there is and what there is not
Am. 717 kānē *dē tō čī l ma hay am t ḥāzirīn*: (well), whatever thou wilt do to us we are ready

Ak. 613 kānē *aw māsī*: where are those fish?
Bar. 747 k̆ā *qôdīk̆*: where is the box?
Gul. 764 k̆ā *xālē min*: where is my uncle?

The following forms are formally Oblique and may take a preposition:

Ak. *kērē, kē(n)darē* (< *kē darē* 'what place', cf. § 89 (*b*)),
Am. *k̆īrē* (:*k̆ī dirk̆ē*) 'where?'
Ak. *kēva*, Zx. *k̆ûva* 'whither?'

Examples:

Ak. 645 *dē* kēva *čī*: whither art thou going?
Am. 711A *ž* k̆īrē: from where, whence?
Zx. 771 *zāxô tk̆avita* k̆ûva: where does Zakho lie?

VERBS

§ 279. The verb has two simple tenses, namely Present and Past, formed from the present and past stems (§ 280) respectively.

The two simple tenses are modified by various modal affixes and particles (§ 281) to give a system in which distinctions of both tense and mood are made.

The past stem and past Participle (§ 288) combine with tense forms of the substantive verb, the only auxiliary in this function, to form further, compound, tenses.

The full verbal system is summarized at § 292.

Stems

§ 280. The simple tenses are formed from the present and past stems of the verb.

Verbs are normally quoted in the form of the infinitive verbal noun, ending in the morpheme *-(i)n* (*v.* § 205 (*a*)). The form of the past stem is that of the infinitive less this morpheme and is thus regularly predictable from the infinitive, e.g.

čôn 'go'	:	*čô-*
hātin 'come'	:	*hāt-*
kirin 'do'	:	*kir-*, &c.

The present stem is not always predictable from the form of the past stem or infinitive, or vice versa. The following empirical

rules may be stated, but exceptions and irregularities are numerous and vary according to the dialect.

(i) When the past stem ends in *-ī*, or, if the verb is transitive and polysyllabic, in *-ā*, then the form of the present stem is normally that of the past stem less this vowel, e.g.

Intransitive	*larizī-*[1]	:	*lariz-*	'tremble'
	qawmī-	:	*qawm-*	'happen'
	zivirī-	:	*zivir-*	'return'
(but note,	*girī-*	:	*girī-*	'weep')
Transitive	*birīn-*	:	*bir-*	'cut'
	kirīn-	:	*kir-*	'buy'
	nāsīn-	:	*nās-*	'know, recognize'
	pirsīn-	:	*pirs-*	'ask'
	īnā-	:	*īn-*	'bring'
	kōlā-	:	*kōl-*	'carve'
	šēlā-	:	*šēl-*	'knead'

(ii) When the past stem ends in *-ā* and the verb is either intransitive, or transitive and monosyllabic, the present stem normally ends in *-ē*, e.g.

Intransitive	*čēryā-*	:	*čēryē-*	'graze'
	diryā-	:	*dirē-*	'tear'
	gaṙyā-	:	*gaṙyē-*	'go about'
	ṙižyā-	:	*ṙižyē-*	'pour'
	zā-	:	*zē-*	'give birth'
(but note,	*čamyā-*	:	*čam-*	'bend'
	ḫalyā-	:	*ḫal-*	'melt'
	tirsyā-	:	*tirs-*	'be afraid'
	wērā-	:	*wēr-*	'dare', &c.)
Transitive	*nā-*	:	*nē-*, Am. *n-*	'put'
	šyā-	:	*šē-*	'be able'

(iii) When the past stem ends in *-ô*, *-û* the present stem is normally identical with it, e.g.

Transitive	*gurô-*	:	*gurô-*	'flay'
	dirû-	:	*dirû-*	'sew; reap'
	husû-	:	*husû-*	'whet'
	ǰû-	:	*ǰû-*	'chew'

[1] All forms are Ak. unless otherwise stated.

(but note,

Intransitive	*bô-*	: *b-*	'be'
	čô-	: *č-*	'go')

(iv) When the past stem ends in *-t*, *-d* preceded by a voiced consonant the form of the present stem is normally that of the past stem less the dental stop, e.g.

Intransitive	*ḫafimt-*	: *ḫafim-*	'be still'
	warimt-	: *warim-*	'swell'
Transitive	*girt-*	: *gir-*	'hold'
	simt-	: *sim-*	'bore, pierce'
(note,	*xund-*	: *xún-*	'read')

(v) When the past stem ends in *-t* preceded by a voiceless fricative the present stem frequently ends in the corresponding voiced fricative, e.g.

Intransitive	*āxift-*	: *āxiv-*	'speak'
	buhušt-	: *buhuž-*	'dissolve'
	bizift-	: *biziv-*	'move, budge'
	guhust-	: *guhuz-*	'move house'
	kaft-,	: *kav-*,	'fall'
	Zx. *kaŧ-*	*kav-*	
(but note,	*harift-*	: *harif-*	'be ruined'
	kališt-	: *kališ-*	'split')
Transitive	*gast-*	: *gaz-*	'bite'
	kurôšt-	: *kurôž-*	'crunch'
	kušt-	: *kuž-*	'kill'
	xāst-	: *xāz-*	'demand'
(but note,	*ālīst-*	: *ālīs-*	'lick'
	bast-	: *bast-*	'freeze')

(vi) When the vowel preceding the final consonant, or consonant group, of the past stem is *-ā-* then the corresponding vowel of the present stem is commonly *-ē-*, e.g.

Transitive	*birālt-*	: *birēž-*	'roast'
	bizāft-	: *bizēv-*	'move'
	bižārt-	: *bižēr-*	'choose; roast'
	čānd-	: *čēn-*	'sow'
	hinārt-	: *hinēr-*	'send'
	kalālt-	: *kalēš-*	'split'

Causative verbs in *-āndin*, however, form the present stem in *-īn* (*v.* § 298). Note also:

stānd-	: *stīn-*	'take'
škānd-	: *škīn-*, Am. *škēn-*	'break'

A comprehensive list of verbs, with their present stems, is given in Appendix II. The more common 'irregular' verbs, i.e. those with unpredictable present stems, are marked with an asterisk.

Affixes and Particles

§ 281. (*a*) Modal affixes

Sur. *a-* (*t-* before vowels), Ak. (? Shn.) *t-* (i.e. [t'-]), Am.–Zx. *t-*, (KK § 271, BX 149 *di-*),[1] prefixed to:

the simple present give the Present Indicative,
the simple past give the Past Imperfect tense.

b(i)- in all dialects (but *v.* § 299) prefixed to the simple present gives the Present Subjunctive. *b(i)-* may also be prefixed to the Imperative.

(*b*) Modal particles

dē[2] in all dialects Sur., Ak.–Zx., Shn., employed with the simple present, forms the Future tense. (In KK § 290–1 *ē* (*wē*), BX 149 *dē* with the Present Subjunctive form the Future.)

dā[2,3] in all dialects, employed with the simple present, forms the Present Imperfect.

[1] Traditionally the affix is written *d(i)-* in general, *t-* only prevocalically. A solitary exception is the text of Huart, op. cit. (p. 158 above), where *t(i)-* occurs throughout, e.g. تبینی تزانی **tibīnī, tizānī, tibēžīn*, &c. (cf. fn. 3, p. 197). Concerning the realization of *t-*, see §§ 154, 159. With *čŏn* 'go' particularly the affix is frequently inaudible.

[2] In Gul., Zx. *dē*, *dā* may be reduced to enclitic *ē*, *ā* respectively after the personal pronouns 1st Sg. *az*, 1st Pl. *am*, e.g.

Gul. 749 *azē čim*: I shall go
759 *amē . . . kin*: we shall make . ..
— *amā vēyā gahīn*: we would have caught up with him (cf. §§ 311 (*c*), 315)
Zx. 774 *amē girīn*: we shall seize
779 *azē xō hāvējim*: I shall throw myself

[3] *dā* is also a conjunction, employed regularly with the Present Subjunctive, 'in order that', &c. (*v.* § 310 (*b*)), and a preverb (§ 300 (*a*)).

(*c*) Negative affixes

nā-[1] in all dialects, prefixed to the simple present, forms the negative of the Present Indicative and Future tenses (i.e. the particle *dē*, *v.* (*b*) above, does not occur in the negative).[2]

nā- in all dialects, prefixed to all the remaining tense forms[2] (replacing *b(i)-* in the Present Subjunctive), gives the negative of these forms.

nā- prefixed to the Imperative (replacing *b(i)-* where present in the positive) negates it.

Personal Endings

§ 282. Each tense distinguishes five persons by characteristic endings. These do not correspond entirely to the personal pronouns (§ 275) in that,

(i) the endings appropriate to the 2nd and 3rd persons plural (in KK, BX, all three persons in the plural) are identical in form,

and

(ii) no distinction of gender is made in the endings of the 3rd singular.

There is a characteristic Imperative ending of the 2nd person singular.

Present Tenses

§ 283. (*a*) The following tenses are formed from the present stem:

the Present Indicative and Subjunctive, with the modal affixes *t-*, &c., and *b(i)-* (§ 281 (*a*)), negative *nā-* and *nā* (§ 281 (*c*)) respectively,

the Future and Present Imperfect, with the modal particles *dē* and *dā* respectively (§ 281 (*b*)).

All these tenses have essentially the following

[1] The irregular form *ni-* is employed in this function with the verb *xānin* 'know' (in Sur. also ? with *twānin* 'be able'). The verbs *nāsin* 'know', *ɣyān*, Shn. *qārin* 'be able', *vyān* 'be necessary' and *wērān* 'dare' take the general negative affix *na-* in these tenses, not *nā-*.

[2] There are no recorded examples of a negative of the Present Imperfect tense.

PRESENT PERSONAL ENDINGS:

	Sur.	Ak., Am.	Zx., Shn.	Gul.	Cf. KK, BX
Sg. 1	*-im*	*-im*	*-im*	*-im*	*-im*
2	*-ī*	*-ī*	*-ī*	*-ē*	*-ī*
3	*-ī(t)*, *-ī(tin)*	*-īt(in)*,[1] *-it-*[2]	*-it(in)*	*-it*	*-a*
Pl. 1	*-īn*	*-īn*	*-īn*	*-īn*	*-in*
2, 3	*-in*	*-in*	*-in*	*-in*	

In conjunction with different stem finals these endings undergo regular modifications, given in detail below (*b*).

(*b*) Thus, when the present stem ends in:

(i) a consonant, e.g. *b-* 'be', *ḑ-* 'go'

	Sur.	Ak., Am.	Zx., Shn.	Gul.	Cf. KK, BX
Sg. 1	*abim*	*tbim*	*tbim*	*tbim*	*dibim*
2	*abī*	*tbī*	*tbī*	*tbē*	*dibī*
3	*abī(t)*, *abī(tin)*	*tbīt(in)*, Ak. *tčit-*	*tbit*	*tbit*	*diba*
Pl. 1	*abīn*	*tbīn*	*tbīn*	*tbīn*	*dibin*
2, 3	*abin*	*tbin*	*tbin*	*tbin*	

Note. The verb *bőn* does not normally take the prefix *b(i)-* in the Present Subjunctive, which appears as *bim*, *bī*, *bīt(in)*, &c.

(ii) *-ē-*, e.g. *(h)ē-* 'come', Sur. *nē-* 'put'

Sg. 1	*anēm*, *tēm*	*tēm*[3-4]	*tēm*	*tēm*
2	*anēy*	*tēy*	*tēy*	*tē*
3	*anē(t)*	*tēt(in)*	*tēt*	*tēt*
Pl. 1	*anēyn*	*tēyn*	*tēyn*	*tēn* [sic]
2, 3	*anēn*	*tēn*	*tēn*	*tēn*

[1] i.e. Ak. [-i:t'], Am., Bar. [-i:t].

[2] The form *-it-* occurs, in Ak. only, in unstressed position before the vowel of an enclitic. When the verb is monosyllabic, and with the verb *bőn* 'be' generally, the full ending *-it* is preserved, e.g.

Ak. 531 *dā čita ẓyāy* (v. § 142 (*b*)): he would go to the mountain
but 616 *čīta makhtabē*: (when) he goes to school

[3] Note the reduction before an enclitic in:

Ak. 533 *dā nima māl*: I (must) put . . . down at home (*nőn*, *nē-*, Am. *n-*),
but 685 *fā nēma xārē*: I (shall) sit down (*nīštin*, *nē-*, Am. *n-*)

[4] In Am. an intrusive *-h-*, common in noun forms (e.g. Am. *bēhn*: Ak. *bēn* 'breath') may occur in verbal forms also, e.g.

Am. 706 *bēhna darva*: (they) should come out
(cf. Nikitine, *BSOS*, III. 89, **bihēta ēra*: he should come hither)

(iii) *-a-*, e.g. *ka-* 'do' (but Zx., &c., *k-*, as (i) above)

Sg. 1	*akám*	*tkam*	*tkim*	
2	*akay*	*tkay*	&c.	
3	*akat*	*tkat(in)*		
Pl. 1	*akayn*	*tkayn*		
2, 3	*akan*	*tkan*		

(iv) *-ō-, -ô-, -u-*, e.g. *xō-, xô-, xu-* 'eat'

Sg. 1	*axőm*	*txôm*	*txum*	*txum*
2	*axōy*	*txôy*	*txwī*	*txwē*
3	*axōt*	*txôt*	*txut*	*txut*
Pl. 1	*axōyn*	*txôyn*	*txwīn*	*txwīn*
2, 3	*axōn*	*txôn*	*txun*	*txun*

(v) *-ī-*, e.g. *girī-* 'weep', *rī-* 'defecate'

Sg. 1	*aṙĺm*	*tgirĺm*	*tgirĺm*
2	*aṙī*	*tgirī*	*tgirīē*
3	*aṙī(t)*	*tgirīt*	*tgirīt*
Pl. 1, 2, 3	*aṙīn*	*tgirīn*	*tgirīn*

Substantive Verb

§ 284. (*a*) Beside the normal tense forms (§ 283 (*b*) (i)) the substantive verb has an enclitic present tense,

	Sur.	Ak., &c.		Gul.	Zx.	Cf. KK, BX
Sg. 1	*-im*	*-im/-ma*	=	*-im/-ma*		*-im/-ma*
2	*-ī*	*-ī/-y*		*-ē*	*-ī/ ʔ*	*-ī/-yī*
3	*-a, -t-*	*-a/-(y)a*	=	*-a/-ya, ʔ -na*		*-a/-ya*
Pl. 1	*-īn*	*-īn/-yna*	=	*-īn/ ʔ -na*		*-in/-na*
2, 3	*-in*	*-in/-na*	=	*-in/-nin*		

where the second forms in each case appear in postvocalic position. The *-(y)-* of the 3rd Sg. forms is realized after all vowels except *ī, û*.

Examples:

Ak. 589 *az*-im: I am, it is I
586 *az mēvānē ta*-ma: I am thy guest
544 *dinyā hatāv*-a: the weather (lit. 'world') is sunny
549 *kayfā ta*-ya: it is thy pleasure
560 *hung kī*-na: who are you?
561 *am diz*-īn: we are thieves
658 *am sē*-yna: we are three

Am. 705A *t r̄ā wasťyāy*-na: they are standing
720 *ḫačīka xalkē āmēdīē*-na *hamī ḱurd*-in: as for the people of Amadiye, they are all Kurds
Bar. 736 *az kuřē ḱē*-ma: whose son am I?
Zx. — *am sē čār . . . ž ḱullīā ma*-na: we are three or four from our college
771 *zāxô . . . sar mûsildā*-na: Zakho is above Mosul
783 *sih ṯā yē tēdā*-nin: there are thirty branches in it

(*b*) The negative of this form is independent, not enclitic.

	Sur., Ak.	Am.–Zx.	Cf. KK
Sg. 1	*nīma*	*nīnim*	*nīnim*
2	*nī* < **nīy*	*nīnī*	*nīnī*
3	*nīa*	*nīna*	*nīna*
Pl. 1	*nīna* < **nīyna*	*nīnīn*	*nīnin*
2, 3	*nīna*	*nīnin*	

Examples:

Ak. 535 *dyār* nīa: it is not visible
596 *ma* nīna: we have none (*v.* § 293 (*a*))
656 *tāqatā madā* nī: thou art not within our power
Am. 710 *mā . . . aw* nīna: is it not that?
719 *či mināra waḱī wē* nīnin: there are no minarets like it
Gul. 770 *ta šôl . . .* nīna: it is no affair of thine
Zx. 786 *masalā dizīā . . .* nīna: there is no question of theft

Imperative

§ **285.** (*a*) The Imperative is formed from the present stem by the addition, normally, of the prefix *b*(*i*)- (negative *ná*-) and the following endings:

Sg. 2 *-a*, Pl. 2 *-in*, when the stem ends in a consonant,
-Ø *-n*, ,, ,, vowel.

Thus, for example, when the stem ends in:

(i) a consonant,

Ak. 531 *bīna*: bring! (*īn*-)
558 *bīnin*: bring ye!
Am. — *r̄û na*: sit down! (*n*-)
706 *r̄û nin*: sit ye down!

(ii) *-ē-*,

Ak. 558 *rû nē*: sit down! (*nē-*)
537 *dā nēn*: put ye down! (*nē-*)
565 *dā ninava*[1]: put ye down again!

(iii) *-a-*,

Ak. 532, Am. 711A *bika*: make! (*ka-*)
Ak. 531 *bidava*: give back! (*da-*, *-va*)

(iv) *-ô-*, *-ô-*, *-u-*,

Ak. — *bixô*: eat! (*xô-*)
Gul. — *bixwa*, Zx. — *bixô*: eat! (*xu-*)

(v) *-ī-*,

Ak. — *nagirī*: don't cry! (*girī-*)

(*b*) The following Imperative forms from irregular stems occur:

Sur. 505 *harū*: go!
Ak., Am. *hara*, *harin*: go! go ye!
[*načа*, *način*: do not go! (*č-*) are regular]
wara, *warin*: come! come ye!
[*nahē*, Zx. *na-ē*: do not come! ((*h*)*ē*) are regular]
Gul. *nawa*, *nawin*: do not come!
Am., Gul. 752 *hilô*: get up!

Past Tenses

§ 286. (*a*) The Past tense is formed from the past stem and the appropriate personal endings. These are essentially as follows:

PAST PERSONAL ENDINGS:

	Sur., Ak.–Zx., Shn.	Gul.	Cf. KK, BX
Sg. 1	*-im*	*-im*	*-im*
2	*-ī*	*-ē*	*-ī*
3	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø
Pl. 1	*-īn*	*-īn*	*-in*
2, 3	*-in*	*-in*	

[1] From *nē-*, cf. fn. 3, p. 182.

(*b*) Thus, when the past stem ends in:

(i) a consonant, e.g. *hāt/ɬ-* 'come'

	Sur.	Ak.	Zx.	Gul.	Cf. KK, BX
Sg. 1		*hátim*		*hálim*	*hātim*
2		*hātī*		*hālē*	*hātī*
3	= Ak.	*hāt*	= Ak.	*hāɬ*	*hāt*
Pl. 1		*hātīn*		*hālīn*	*hātin*
2, 3		*hātin*		*hālin*	

(ii) *-ū-, -ô-*, e.g. Sur. *bū-*, Ak. *bô-* 'be', Zx. *čô-* 'go'

	Sur.	Ak.	Zx.	Gul.
Sg. 1	*būm*	*bôm*	*čôm*	*čôm*
2	*būy*	*bôy*	*čôy*	*čôē*
3	*bū*	*bô*	*čô*	*čô*
Pl. 1	*būyn*	*bôyn*	*čôyn*	*čôyn*
2, 3	*būn*	*bôn*	*čôn*	*čôn*

(iii) *-ā-*, e.g. *mā-* 'stay'

	Sur.	Ak.	Zx.	Gul.
Sg. 1		*mām*		*mām*
2		*māy*		*māē*
3	= Ak.	*mā*	= Ak.	*mā*
Pl. 1		*māyn*		*māyn*
2, 3		*mān*		*mān*

(iv) *-ī-*, e.g. *girī-* 'weep', Zx., Gul. *bī-* 'be'

	Sur.	Ak.	Zx.	Gul.
Sg. 1		*girîm*	*bīm*	*bīm*
2		*girī*	*bī*	*bīē*
3	= Ak.			*bī*
Pl. 1, 2, 3		*girīn*	*bīn*	*bīn*

§ **287.** (*a*) The Past Imperfect tense is formed from the Past tense by the addition of the prefix *t-*, &c. (§ 281 (*a*)), e.g.

Ak., &c., Sg. *tbôm, tbôy, tbô*; Pl. *tbôyn, tbôn*
Zx. Sg. 1 *tbīm*, 2, 3 *tbī*; Pl. 1, 2, 3 *tbīn*
Ak. *thātim*, &c., is frequently reduced to *tātim*, &c.

(*b*) In no Bad. dialect is a Past Conditional tense attested (cf. fn. 1, p. 189).

In KK, BX such a tense is formed from the simple past tense by the addition of the prefix *b(i)-* and the following combinations

of the 'conditional' infix *-ā-* (sometimes repeated as a suffix) and the past personal endings:

Sg. 1	*-(ā)m(ā)*
2	*-āyī*
3	*-ā*
Pl. 1, 2, 3	*-(ā)n(ā)*

Examples:

	KK §§ 285, 299		Celadet BX[1]
Sg. 1	*būmā*	*bikatāmā*	*bikatām*
2	*būyāyī*	*bikatāyī*	*bikatāyī*
3	*būyā*	*bikatā*	*bikatā*
Pl. 1, 2, 3	*būnā*	*bikatānā*	*bikatān*

This tense may further take the modal particles KK *ē* (*wē*), BX *dē* (*v.* § 281 (*b*)).

§ 288. (*a*) The Past Participle is formed from the past stem by the addition of the morpheme *-ī*, *-y*, thus:

Ak., &c., *hātī*, *čōy*, *māy*, *girī* (<**girīy*)

Ak., Am. *bôn* 'be' has the irregular participle *bī*, cf. Zx., &c., *bīn* 'be', participle regularly *bī*.

(*b*) The Past Participle may function simply as an adjective, e.g.

Ak. — *tē gahištī*: intelligent (*tē gahištin* 'understand')
Zx. 777 *awā čē-kirī*: the artificial one (*čē kirin* 'make')

See also the compound forms, § 318 (*a*).

Compound Tenses

§ 289. (*a*) The Perfect Indicative I is formed from the Past Participle and the enclitic (present) forms of the substantive verb (§ 284 (*a*)) as auxiliary.[2]

[1] From Hawar (*v.* § 160), no. 26, p. 15; (Kamuran) BX 142 differs.

[2] In Gul. the only Perfect I forms attested are formed from the past *stem* and the auxiliary, viz.

Gul. — *min dinyā nadīta*: I have not seen the world
753 *ta bō čī* . . . *kuīta*: why hast thou killed . . . ?
765 *Kasē* . . . *nagōta min*: nobody has said to me (questionably Perfect)

Perfect II forms (*v.* (*c*) below) are, however, regularly formed.

(*b*) Thus, when the past stem ends in:

(i) a consonant, e.g. *hāt/ɬ-* 'come'

	Sur., Ak.–Zx.	Cf. KK, BX
Sg. 1	*hātīma*	*hātima*
2	*hātī* (< **hātī-y*)[1]	*hātī(y)ī*
3	*hātīa*	*hātī(y)a*
Pl. 1	*hātīna* (< **hātī-yna*)	*hātina*
2, 3	*hātīna*	

(ii) *-ū-, -ô-*, e.g. *čū-, čô-* 'go'

Sg.	*čôyma, čôy, čôya*
Pl.	*čôyna*

(iii) *-ā-*, e.g. *mā-* 'stay'

Sg.	*māyma, māy, māya*
Pl.	*māyna*

(iv) *-ī-*, e.g. *girī-* 'weep', *bī-* 'be'

Sg.	*girīma, girī, girīa*	Zx. *bīma, bī, bīa*
Pl.	*girīna*	*bīna*

(*c*) In certain contexts (*v.* § 313) a Perfect Indicative II form occurs, in which the auxiliary verb loses the final vowel *-a* where it is present in the Perfect I forms.[2] Thus (cf. (*b*) (i) above),

	Ak.–Zx.	
Sg. 1	*hātīm*	
2	*hātī*	Sur. also *hātī*
3	*hātī*	
Pl. 1, 2, 3	*hātīn*	but *hātīna*

§ 290. (*a*) The Perfect Subjunctive and Pluperfect tenses are formed from the past *stem* and the Present Subjunctive and Past tenses respectively of the auxiliary, Ak. *bôn*, Zx. *bīn* (§§ 283 (*b*), 286 (*b*)).[3]

[1] Distinguished from the Past tense form (§ 286 (*b*)) by the position of the stress. With past stems ending in a vowel no such distinction is possible.

[2] The appearance of the 1st Sg. and 1st, 2nd, 3rd Pl. forms with 'post-consonantal' forms of the enclitic verb (§ 284 (*a*)) is deceptive. The loss of the vowel is probably on the analogy of the 3rd Sg. form with its omission of the enclitic (cf. § 309 (*c*)).

[3] The verb *bôn*, &c., 'be' itself has the irregular reduced stem *bi-* in these tenses; thus Ak. has Perfect Subjunctive *bîbim*, &c. (not Present Subjunctive, q.v. § 283 (*b*) (i)), Pluperfect *bîbôm*, &c.

(*b*) Thus, when the past stem ends in:

(i) a consonant, e.g. *hāt/t́-* 'come'

Perfect Subjunctive

Sg.	*hátbim, hātbī, hātbīt*
Pl.	*hātbīn, hātbin*

Pluperfect

Ak., &c., *hátbôm*, &c. Zx. *hátbīm*, &c.

(ii) a vowel, e.g. *čô-* 'go'

Perfect Subjunctive

Sg.	*čôbim, čôbī, čôbīt*
Pl.	*čôbīn, čôbin*

Pluperfect

Ak., &c., *čôbôm*, &c. Zx. *čôbīm*, &c.

§ **291.** A Perfect Conditional tense is formed from the Past stem and a particular form of the auxiliary verb Ak. *bón*, Zx. *bīn*,[1] with the 'conditional' infix *-ā-*, sometimes repeated, and past endings (§ 286 (*a*)). In Zx., Gul. the *-ī-* of the 1st Pl., and occasionally of the 2nd Sg., ending is lost. Thus:

	Ak., Am.	Zx.	Gul.
Sg. 1	*čô-*, &c., *-bāmā*	*-bām*	*-bāmā*
2	*-bāyā*	*-bā(y)*	*-bāē*
3	*-bā*	*-bā*	*-bā*
Pl. 1	*-bāynā*	*-bān*	*-bān(ā)*
2, 3	*-bānā*		

For examples, see § 309.

Summary

§ **292.** The tense and mood system may be summarized as follows:

[1] The substantive verb has the irregular stem *bi-* in this tense also (cf. previous fn.). The form may then be further reduced, thus Perfect Conditional 3rd Sg. *bibā* > *bā*, giving the appearance of a Past Conditional tense (formed without an auxiliary verb from the past stem), but see § 287 (*b*).

Present Indicative (§ 283)
t-káv-im, &c.

Present Subjunctive (§ 283)
bí-kav-im, &c.

Future (§ 283)
dē káv-im, &c.

Imperative (§ 285)
bí-kav-a, &c.

Present Imperfect (§ 283)
dā káv-im, &c.

Past (§ 286)
ká(f)t-im, &c.

Past Imperfect (§ 287 (*a*))
t-ká(f)t-im, &c.

[Past Conditional (§ 287 (*b*))
bí-kat-ām(ā), &c.]

Past Participle (§ 288)
ka(f)t-í

Perfect Indicative I (§ 289)
ka(f)tí-ma, &c.

Perfect Indicative II (§ 289 (*c*))
ka(f)tí-m, &c.

Pluperfect (§ 290)
ká(f)t-bôm, &c.

Perfect Subjunctive (§ 290)
ká(f)t-bim, &c.

Perfect Conditional (§ 291)
ká(f)t-bām(ā), &c.

Certain Verbs

§ 293. (*a*) The morpheme *ha-* with the verb *bôn*, &c., yields the defective verb *habôn*, &c., 'exist'. Commonly only 3rd person forms are met (KK § 275 has all persons, *hama*, *hayī*, *haya*, *hana*, &c., but without examples). The negative is provided by the simple forms *nīa*, &c. (§ 284 (*b*)).

In conjunction with the Oblique case forms of nouns and pronouns this verb gives the sense of possession. Thus:

	Ak., &c.	Sur.
Present Indicative I		
'there is'	*haya*	*haya*
'there are'	*hana*	*hayna*

'I have'	*min haya, hana*	
'we have'	*ma haya, hana*, &c.	
Present Subjunctive		
'if there be'	*habīt, habin*	
Past, Past Imperfect		
'there was, were, used to be'	*habô, habôn*	Zx. *habī, habīn*
Perfect I		
'there has been'	*habīa, habīna*	
Perfect Conditional		
'if there has been'	*habā* (cf. fn. 1, p. 189)	

Examples:

Ak. — ta *qalam* haya: hast thou a pen?
— min *šôl* habô: I had work (to do)
544 *mirôvak* haya: there is a man
579 *har kasakē māramak* habā: whoever might have (had) a wish
582 *ḫākimēt* habīn: there have been rulers (*v.* § 313 (*a*))
619 ta *šāhid* hana: hast thou witnesses?
Am. 703 *ḫākimakī sē kuř* habôn: a ruler had three sons
Bar. 727 *haft kuř* wī habôn: he had seven sons
Gul. 749 *sē kuř* habīn *gal kičak*: (he) had three sons and a daughter

(*b*) In affirmative sentences only, the Demonstrative Izafe appears with the Present Indicative of this verb in a modified form. The 3rd Sg. form loses the final vowel *-a* and an analogical 3rd Pl. is formed (cf. Perfect Indicative II, § 289 (*c*)), thus:

'there is'	*y/wē*, &c., *hay*	Sur. also *hay*	
'there are'	*y/wēt*	*hayn*	but *hayna*

Examples:

Sur. — *šūr-īn* wā hay: we have work (to do) (*šūr* F.)
— *sē kuř-im* wē hayna: I have three sons
Ak. 580 *awī ēzyāy ma'lûm šôlakā* hay: that serpent certainly has some business (*šôl* F.)
583 *mirôvakē* hay: there is a man (*mirôv* M.)
586 *min birāyakē dīka* yē hay: I have another brother (*birā* M.)

Am. 709 *bālīlī āgirē* hay: Bahlul has a fire (*āgir* M.)
718 yēt *lē* hayn *sē dargah*: there are three gates in it
Bar. 740 *žinkak* wā hay: there is (such) a woman (*žink* F.)
Zx. 771 *filahēt* hayn *ô bisirmān žī* yēt hayn[1]: there are Christians and there are Moslems also
772 *dihī l zāxó* wēt hayn[1]: there are Dihis (Armenian refugees from Dihé) in Zakho

The Demonstrative Izafe is omitted, the Present II appearing alone, in the following construction:

Ak. 638 *čand . . . zēřēt wē* hayn: as many gold ornaments as she has
673 *čand nivīnkēt hungô* hayn *bīnin*: bring as many bedclothes as you have

§ 294. The verb *vyān* 'be necessary', Sur. *wīstin*, is passive throughout.[2] It normally appears with the Oblique case form of the agential noun or pronoun, thus:

Sur. *amin awē*: I want
Ak., &c. *min tvēt*: I want
min navēt[3]: I do not want
min tvyā: I wanted

Examples:

Ak. — min tvēt *az bičīmava*: I want to go back
575 ta *či* tvēt: what dost thou want?
595 birāē *min masraf* tvēt: my brother needs (money for) expenses
633 ta *az* navēm: thou dost not want me
643 ama *hasp* navēn: we do not want horses
644 min *tô xôš* vyāy: I took a liking to thee
Am. 712 awī tvyā . . . *bibat*: he wanted to take . . .
711A mi *ž hinga* tvētin: I want from you . . .

[1] These two examples at least suggest that the choice between the forms *yē* and *wē* of the Demonstrative Izafe may be determined in part by the nature of the preceding sounds.

[2] No distinction in meaning between Ak. *vyān* and Sul., &c., *wīstin* 'want' (§ 220) is intended, but such forms as Ak. *navēm* = *ḥaz lē nākam* 'I do not like it', Zx. *nān tvēn* 'they want', occurring under the influence of the more common active verbs, indicate in effect the development of a new verb, as yet defective, *vyān* 'like, want'.

[3] See fn. 1, p. 181.

§ 295. (*a*) The forms *tbīt*[1] (formally 3rd Sg. Present) and *tvyā* (3rd Sg. Past Imperfect of *vyān*, § 294) appear equally in the present with the meaning 'must, ought'. In the past only *tvyā* occurs.

Examples:

Ak. — *či az bēžim* tvyā *tô vāst bikay*: thou must do whatever I say
— tvyā *nôka bičim*: I must go now
— *ān* tbīt *zû bičim ān har načim*: either I should go soon or not at all
— tvyā *duhú čôbāmā*: I should have gone yesterday

(*b*) The particle *bilā* has the sense of 'let . . .', e.g.

Ak. 662 bilā: so be it!
567 bilā *hal girin*: let them take it up

See also § 310 (*c*).

Passive Construction

§ 296. (*a*) The past and compound tenses of Transitive verbs are conjugated in the same manner as Intransitive verbs, but the forms have Passive sense throughout[2], e.g.

Ak. 546 *bāpīrē ma . . . l baḥaštē* hāvēta *darē*: our ancestor was thrown out of Paradise (*hāvētin* 'throw')
567 *sindôqā* škāndī: the Treasury has been broken (into) (*škāndin* 'break')
572 *aw har sē diz* birina *lālī*: all three of these thieves were taken before him (*birin* 'take')
632 *az darmān* kirim: I was treated with medicine
Am. 703 *sē paz* kušfin: three sheep were killed (*kušfin* 'kill')
705 *ẓād* īnā: food was brought (*īnān* 'bring')
Zx. 787 *az ʃa'īn* kirim: I was appointed
781 *az ô aw āšt* kirīn: he and I were reconciled

[1] Sur. *tabī . . . bistīnī* 'thou must take . . .', apparently for **abī* under the influence of Ak. *tbīt*. Cf. the Sur. prepositions, § 301 (*a*).

[2] Only in Zx. are there occasional signs of the development of active meaning through assimilation to the Intransitive conjugation, e.g.

Zx. 775 *kičīk girʃin ô kulʃin*: they seized the girl and killed her

Frequently the Agent, though not expressed, is obvious from the context, e.g.

Ak. 531 *r̄ôžakē čô čyāy, ṯayrakē zēr̄* girt: one day he went to the mountains (and by him) a gold bird was caught

532 *aw . . . harsēk birāēt yēk bôn*, gôta *xudānē ṯayrī*: they were all three brothers (and by them) it was said to the owner of the bird

533 *gašta birāē māztirē, milē xô l milē wī* dā: 'she' reached the eldest brother (and by 'her') her shoulder was struck against his shoulder

Am. 706 *aw r̄ā bô, k̄ēt̄ikak* īnā *darva*: he got up (and by him) a cat was brought out

Zx. 774 *aw hust̄āē kô av ṕirā hanē* āvā kirī . . .: the mason who (by him) this bridge has been built . . .

(*b*) When an Agent is expressed it is in the Oblique case, e.g.

Sur. — *kāγaz*-ū *niwīsī* / angō *kāγaz niwīsī* } have you written the letter?

509 *źinakē gā bird*: the woman took the ox

509 *wakī gā*-y *bird*: when she took the ox

Ak. 533 žinakē *gôtē*[1]: the woman said to him

536 aḫmadī *zānī*: Ahmed knew

538 min *ašyāē hungô bir*: I have taken your things

539 ḫākimī . . . *gôtī*[2]: the governor said . . .

539 min *tô 'afô kirī*: I have forgiven thee

542 aḫmadī *ḫākim t sindôqē nā*: Ahmed put the governor into the chest

Am. 705 bālīlī *k̄ēt̄ikak kir t barīk̄ā xôdā*: Bahlul put a cat into his pocket

709 awā *gôtē*[1], *bilā*: they said to him, 'So be it'

The Oblique case endings may, however, be omitted (§ 261 (*a*)), e.g.

Sur. 508 mirōwaka *gōta źinakē*: the man said to the woman

Ak. 534 kābrā *das hāvēta žinakē*: the fellow reached for the woman

535 kas *ǰābā wā nadā*: nobody answered them

537 aḫmad *gôtē*[1] . . .: Ahmed said to him . . .

Am. 707 bālīl *sē ṯanûrvān girtin*: Bahlul took three bakers

[1] *-ē*, cf. § 302 (*b*). [2] Cf. fn. 1, p. 212.

Passive Periphrasis

§ 297. (*a*) There is no secondary passive conjugation.[1] The past tenses of all Transitive verbs have passive meaning (§ 296).

(*b*) To express a passive without reference to an agent recourse may be had to a periphrasis with the verb *hātin* 'come' and the preposition *-a* (§ 301 (*c*)) governing the infinitive of the Transitive verb, e.g.

Ak. — *watuv* dē hēta *kuštin*: that way he will be killed
— *sēvēt xirāb* tēna *istī'māl kirin bō 'alafē ḫaywānā*: the bad apples are used for animal fodder
569 *čand dizīē* . . . hātīna *kirin*: as many thefts as have been committed
569 *sindōq* . . . *yā* hātīa *škāndin*: the Treasury has been broken (into) (cf. § 296 (*a*))
Zx. 773 *wē* hātī (? for *hāltа*) *āvā kirin*: has been built

Causative Conjugation

§ 298. The Causative of an Intransitive verb is expressed by a secondary conjugation. The Causative verb is conjugated regularly as a transitive verb.

The addition of the morpheme *-īn-* to the present stem of the Intransitive verb yields the present stem of the Causative verb. If the present stem of the Intransitive verb ends in *-(y)ē-* (*v.* § 322 (*a*)) this is displaced by the causative morpheme.

The causative past stem is formed by the substitution of the morpheme *-ānd-* for the *-īn-* of the present stem, thus:

Ak. *kalīn, kal-* 'boil' > *kalīn-, kalānd-, kalāndin* 'boil'
dirīyān, dirīyē- 'tear' > *dirīn-, dirānd-, dirāndin* 'tear'
girīn, girī- 'weep' > *girīn*[2], *giryānd-, giryāndin* 'make weep'

Compound Verbs

§ 299. A simple verb may combine with either a preverb (§ 300) or a nominal form to yield a compound verb. These do not differ

[1] The solitary *-rē-* passive (cf. § 231) *kirē-* 'be done' appears in Ak., e.g.
Ak. — *watuvīl talafux* tkirēt: it is pronounced so also
569 *ma ču pē* nākirēt: nothing can be done by us

[2] *girīn-* < **girī-īn-*.

in form from simple verbs beyond the fact that the modal affix *b(i)-* (§ 281 (*a*)) does not normally appear with them, e.g.

Ak. 584 *šyā . . . lē war girīt*: he could take . . . from him (*war girtin*)
584 *f̄û nē*: sit down! (*f̄û nīštin*)
Am. 704 *šaš ǧindóqā čē ka*: make six chests! (*čē kirin*)

but, with *b(i)-*,

Gul. 758 *xudān bikē*: that thou mayest nourish him ((*p*) *xudān kirin*)

The meaning of compound verbs is a matter of lexicon.

PARTICLES

Preverbs

§ 300. There are two types of preverb:

(*a*) The adverbs *dā, dar, hal* (Sur. *har*, Zx., Gul. *hil*), *f̄ā, f̄û, va* (Sur. *wa*), *war* and the suffix *-(a)va* (Sur. *-(a)wa*, Zx., Gul., *-va*). These preverbs, including *va*, generally modify the meaning of the simple verb unpredictably, e.g.

Ak. *kirin* : *va kirin* : *f̄ā kirin* — do : open : lift
xārin : *va xārin* — eat : drink

The main function of the suffix *-(a)va*, &c., is to give the sense of repetition or reversion. It then appears alone, e.g.

Ak. 531 *dā batava bô xô*: he used to take it back for himself
531 *bidava*: give it back!
538 *ḥatā zivirīnava saḥ thanē . . .*: by the time they returned they saw (that . . .)
581 *yē vēk hātīava*: it has come together again
Am. 703 *ḳarē xô dītava l bin qēlīčkak*: they saw their donkey again under a nut-shell
Gul. 769, Zx. 775 *zivirīnva*: they returned
Zx. 786 *dē bīnitinva*: he will see it again

In Ak. it may also appear reduplicating the preverb *va*, e.g.

Ak. 533 va *gaṙyāva*: he returned
534 *darik bô* va *kirava*: opened the door for him
562 *dē* va *binava*: (doors) will open
605 *waxtē . . .* va *xundava gāz kir*: when he read it he called

In Ak., Am., when a verb with this suffix immediately precedes either a complementary adverb or an indirect object, the suffix appears as *-(a)v* (*v.* § 172 (*a*)), e.g.

Ak. 581 *hātav xārē*: he came down again
581 *ēzyā čôv žôr*: the serpent went back inside
582 *ava mārī dānav min*: the snake gave me these
665 *hātinav mazalkā kuřakaydā*: they came back into the boy's room
666 *čônav bar dikan*: they went back to the shop
Am. 708 *dā bēhnav baydā*: in order to return to Baghdad
709 *dē . . . awī danav min*: you will give that back to me
710 *čôv mālā xô*: went back to his house

(*b*) The 'absolute' forms of the simple prepositions, *pē*, &c., and their derivatives, *pēva*, *pēk*, &c. (§ 302 (*c*)).

Pre- and Postpositions

§ **301.** (*a*) The simple prepositions immediately precede the nominal form they qualify, which is normally in the Oblique case. The following are attested:

l[1] (Sur. *la* (cf. § 236), KK, BX *li*) 'at, from'[2]
p[3] (Sur. *pa*, KK, BX *bi*) 'to'
t[3] (Sur. *ta*, KK, BX *di*) 'at'
v 'to'
ž Am.–Zx. only (KK, BX *ži*) 'from'
a 'to'
bô (Sur. *la bō*, KK, BX *bōnā*) 'for' (*v.* also §§ 148, 276 (*b*))
ḫatā (Am., &c., *ḫatā*) 'till'
bē 'without'
gal, tgal, lgal (Sur. *tagar*, BX *digal*) 'with'
wakô, hakô (Am., &c., *wakī*) 'like'

(*b*) Both alone and in conjunction with the simple prepositions the following enclitic 'postpositions' occur:

-dā (BX *da*), *-řā* (BX *ra*), *-va* (Sur. *-awa*, KK *-vā*, BX *va*)

[1] Concerning the realization of these minimal forms, see §§ 154, 159.
[2] English equivalents of the prepositions are given only as approximate labels.
[3] i.e. Ak. [p', t'], Am., &c. [p, t]. The traditional spelling is *bi*, *di*, with KK, BX. Huart's text (op. cit., p.158 above), however, agrees with these our dialects, having ت ب **p(i)*, *t(i)* throughout (cf. fn. 1, p. 180).

Thus, in combination,

p . . . *-va* 'with', *t* . . . *-dā* 'in', *t* . . . *-rā* 'into', &c.

Note Ak. *l bar-va-rā* 'from in front', with two postpositions.

(*c*) *a* only occurs in conjunction with a verb and is realized as an enclitic, e.g.

Ak. 544 *hāt-a garmīānē*: came to the low country
549 *čón-a lālī čēlē*: they went to the cow
Am. 713 *čóyn-a čyāy*: we went to the mountain(s)

Following a verbal form ending in *a*, *ā*, *ó* the preposition *a* is not realized, e.g.

Ak. 545 čó *barakā kābrāy*: it went in front of the fellow
(cf. 547 *zivirī-a barakā min*: it went back in front of me)
581 čó *žór ó hāt-a darē*: went inside and came out
Am. 704 čó *nik naǰārī*: went to a carpenter
(cf. 709 *aw čón-a nik*: they went to (him))

a may also be followed by *t* . . . *-dā* with the sense 'into', e.g.

Ak. 544 *kira* t *ǰandikēdā*: he put it into the bag
695 *xó hāvēta* t *bīrēdā*: she threw herself into the well
Am. 704 *kirina* t *ǰindóqādā*: he put them into the boxes
Zx. 773 *waxtē kó tēta* t *zāxódā*: when it comes into Zakho
779 *xó bāvēma* t *āvēdā*: (if) I throw myself into the water

but is not, apparently, realized after a final *ī* in this context, e.g.

Zx. 779 *tó tīēy xó bāvēīī* t *āvēdā*: can you throw yourself into the water?
781 *min xó āvēīī* t *āvēdā*: I have thrown myself into the water

(*d*) An Oblique nominal form, ungoverned by a preposition, may nevertheless have dative, ablative, locative, &c., sense, e.g.

Ak. 540 *har biskakē zangilak pēva kir*: attached a bell *to* each curl
550 *az gólik bóm mālā xudānē xó*: I was a calf *in* my master's house
565 *hindak davē xó nā*: he put some *into* his mouth
Am. 705 *dā nā 'ardakī*: they camped *at* a place
718 *amēt* . . . *tāxivīn āmēdīē*: we are talking *in* Amadiye
Zx. 784 *čóbīn makahē*: they had been *to* Mecca

§ **302.** (*a*) Corresponding to the simple prepositions *l*, *p*, *t*, *v*, *ž*; *a* there are the following 'absolute' forms: *lē*, *pē*, *tē*, *vē*, *žē*[1]; *ē*.

The correspondence is not always regular, e.g.

Am., Zx. — *dā* p *miřā gahī*: thou wouldst have met me
dā vēřā *gahīn*: we would have met him

bô and *tgal*, &c., are also employed absolutely.

(*b*) The absolute forms of the prepositions, with the exception of *ē*, stand independently. They do not govern another form, but give the sense of a 3rd person pronoun governed by the preposition, e.g.

Ak. 541 *gardanā xô* pē *āzā kam*: that I may take leave of them (lit. 'free my neck *from them*')
568 *sē mirōvēt* lē: there are three men *in it*
584 *kābrā* tgal *čô*: the fellow went *with him*
Am. 703 *gôšt* žē *řā bô*: the meat rose *out of it*
714 *am . . . žē tirsyāyn*: we were afraid *of them*

ē, like *a* (§ 301 (*c*)), is always enclitic following a verb, e.g.

Ak. 536 *saḥ tkat*-ē: he looks *at them*
547 *hindak āx min* bô *kir*-ē: I put some earth *into it* (*-ē*) for it (*bô*)
Am. 712 *daynē wī ǰû dā*-ē: gave the Jew's loan back *to him*

(*c*) With the postpositions *-dā*, *-řā*, *-va* the absolute forms *pēdā*, *pēva*, *tēdā*, *tēřā*, &c., are formed.

The absolute forms *lēk*, *pēk*, *tēk*, *vēk*, ? *žēk* appear with the meaning of '. . . one another' and the appropriate preposition (cf. § 237 (*c*)), e.g.

Ak. 553 lēk *řā nābirin*: they do not pass by one another
559 *am . . .* pēk *hātīn*: we have come together
549 vēk*řā*: together (with one another)

(*d*) The absolute forms of the simple prepositions, *pē*, &c., and their derivatives, *pēva*, *pēk*, &c., may function as preverbs (*v.* § 300 (*b*)).

The simple prepositions are generally 'separable' (*v.* § 237 (*d*)), e.g.

Ak. 584 l *dargāy dā*: he knocked at the door (*l*|*lē dān*)

[1] Although *ž* hardly occurs as a preposition in Ak., *žē* appears as a preverb, e.g. *žē kirin* 'pluck (fruit)'.

The derivatives are generally 'inseparable', e.g.

Ak. 540 *har biskakē zangilak* pēva *kir*: attached a bell to each curl (*pēva kirin*)

In Gul., Zx. certain inseparable preverbs and adverbs have united with the verbal stem and are preceded by the modal prefixes, &c., e.g.

Gul. — *az šīvē nālēnim*: I shall not cook supper
— *bilēna*: cook (it)! (*lēnān*: Ak. *lē nān*)
Gul., Zx. *daynān*: to put down (: Ak. *dā nān*)
Zx. 774 *nāčēbīt hóṣā*: it will not be built thus (*čēbīn*: Ak. *čē bón*)

§ 303. The simple prepositions form compound prepositions with nouns, adjectives, and certain adverbs. The prepositions may be omitted and the noun, &c., appear alone with prepositional force. The noun, &c., may be followed by the Generic form of the Izafe (§ 263 (*d*)).

Examples: Noun

Sur. 505 *harū* maz *maṙ*: go to (lit. 'before') the sheep
517 la bō maz *yē xwārē cō*: he went in front of the lower one
Ak. — l bin *sivānday*: under the eaves
548 *dē hēt*-a bin *sēbarā min*: will come under my shade
570 *dē* . . . nik *ta fā birim*: I shall pass by near thee
571 *harsēk īnān*-a bar *ṣalbē*: all three were brought before the gallows
572 sar *taxtē xó fū nīṙt*: sat on his throne
626 pēš *darwēṙī kaft*: he went ahead of the dervish
690 *hāvēt*-a pišt *xó*: put her behind himself

Noun + Izafe

Ak. 688 *birin*-a barī *bābē xó*: he took them before his father
Am. *passīm*, pāšī *hingī* } after that, afterwards
passīm, pištī *hingī*

Adjective

Ak. 647 nēzīkī *dah pānzda fóšā*: for approximately (near to) ten or fifteen days
Am. 714 šibafī *gurg*: like (= such as) wolves
Zx. 785 *ḫatā* nēzīk *fazā*: till near the gardens

Adverb

Ak. — darva-y *māl*: outside the house
Zx. 773 ž darvay *zāxô*: outside Zakho

§ **304.** Various pre- and postpositions appear with formally plural nouns with the connotation of 'manner', e.g.

Ak. — *mir tirsēt xôdā*: he died of fright (lit. 'in his own fears')
— *mir tirsādā*: he died of fright
Gul. — *dilē min tēšit ž birsā*: my stomach aches with hunger
Zx. — *davē min ḫišk bī ž tēhnā*: my mouth is dry from thirst
784 *ž tēhnā ḳatbīn hamī*: they had all collapsed from thirst

Adverbs

§ **305.** (*a*) A nominal form, Sg. or Pl., formally Oblique, may have adverbial sense (*v.* § 301 (*d*)), e.g.

Ak. 531 *hamô rôžē*: every day, daily
553 *hinda rôžā*: for some days
545 *sē čār qûnāyā hāt*: he came for three or four stages
548 *hāvīnē, waxtē garmē*: in summer, in the time of heat
573 vē *halē*: at this time, then
631 *čôma bilādā mi'āmilē*: I went to (many) countries trading
Am. 703 *naqlakē*: once (upon a time)
705 *qônāyakē čôn*: they went for one stage
Gul. 749 *način nēčīrē*: do not go hunting!

(*b*) The suffix -(*ī*)*š*/*ś* 'also, even' occurs in Ak. and Sur. only, e.g.

Sur. 506 *šiwānīšim girt*: I took a shepherd also
Ak. 555 *ta davīš lē dirûbô*: hadst thou sewn the mouth of it too?
561 *awīš diza*: he too is a thief
569 *wānīš gôtē*: they too said to him . . .

The form -*š* appears following a vowel, e.g.

Sur. 506 *hingīšīn har āwēt*: then too we winnowed it
514 *hindak pāray māśawa*[1]: he had a little money left too
Ak. 545 *avaš*: this also
550 *nôkaš*: now also
657 *wē rôžēš*: that day also
Ak. 700 *malāyš* 'the mullah too', is exceptional.

[1] Cf. § 240 (*c*), end.

In other dialects the independent forms Am. *žī*, Gul., Zx. *žī/i* occur with the same meaning, e.g.

Am. 703A *ḫākimī žī karak habô*: the governor had an ass too
Gul. 752 *aw ži kir t xānīva*: put him in the house too
Zx. 782 *gundī ži dē čin*: the villagers also will go
790 *mi žī zaḫmalī . . . dīt*: I had trouble too

With the 1st person pronoun *az* the following contractions occur, Ak. *ayž*, Am., Zx. *ažī* (*v.* § 275 (*a*), Note 3).

Preceding *žī* the adjective *dī* 'other' appears as *di*, e.g.

Am. 706A *galakēt* di žī: many others also
719 *dargahē* di žī: the other gate too
Zx. 785 *hinda ṭrumpēlēt* di žī: some other cars also

Contrast *dī* used substantively in

Bar. 732 *ṣad* dī *žī*: a hundred others also

(*c*) The suffix *-ānī* with nouns has the sense 'in the manner of . . .', e.g.

Sur. 529 *xōixōšānī čōē*: he went to it gently
Ak. — *'arabkānī swār bô*: he rode (the donkey) side-saddle (lit. 'Arab-wise')
543 *ṣānī ṙawī*: he barked like a dog (*ṣa*)
543 *karānī žīrī*: he brayed like an ass

B. SYNTAX

Concord

§ 306. (*a*) Since nouns in the Direct case are formally identical in the Sg. and Pl. (§§ 258, 260 (*b*)) only the verbal personal ending indicates the number, thus:

Ak. — *mirôv čô/čôn*: the man/men went
611 *aw bičûk čôn*: those children went
Am. 706 *mišk dar ḵaflin*: the mice came out

The concord between personal pronoun and verb is straightforward. The following few examples are obvious anacolutha:

Ak. 560 *hung . . . bibēža* (for **bibēžin*): say (ye)!
562 *az dē šēm xô lē xilās* kayn: *I can free us from it

(*b*) A noun marked by a plural Izafe form (§ 264 (*a*)) normally takes a plural verb, e.g.

Ak. 565 *sēā pištīēt xô dā girt*in: three put down their loads
566 *harsēkā pištīēt xô xālī kirinava*: all three emptied their loads again
but, 566 *ma pištīēt xô yēt dirust kirī*: we have made up our loads

(*c*) Two or more nouns joined by the conjunction *ô, w* 'and', or the preposition *tgal*, &c., 'with', constitute a plural subject and take a plural verb, e.g.

Ak. 546 *ču hēva* w *hóva* nīna: there is no shilly-shallying
556 *rīvīak* tgal *qurbaĺayakī* bôn*a širīk*: a fox and (lit. 'with') a badger became companions
Am. 709 *bāyak* ô *bārān* hāfin: a wind and rain came
Gul. 751 *šīr* ô *maṭalēt xwa girē* dān: he girt on his sword and shield
Zx. 781 *az* ô *aw āšt* kirīn: he and I were reconciled

Relative and Subordinate Clauses

§ 307. (*a*) In all dialects Ak.–Zx. the inflexible particle *kô* serves to introduce subordinate clauses, e.g.

Ak. 538 *saḫ tkanē* kô *tištē wān yē birī*: they see that their things have been taken
548 *dē ŧā bīt* kô *dē čīt*: he will get up to go
587 *dīt* kô *sa'īdē ŧâ ništīa*: he saw that Said was sitting
Am. 708A *ŧā bôn* kô *bārēt xô bār kirin*: they got up (so that) they loaded up their loads
Zx. 787 *mi natzānī . . .* kô *ŧadrīsāt . . . p kurdīa*: I did not know that the teaching was in Kurdish

(*b*) A relative clause is normally joined to its antecedent by the appropriate form of the Izafe (§ 263), e.g.

Ak. 578 *har kasakē xāīn bīt*: whatever person be treacherous
579 *har kasakē māramak habā*[1]: whatever person might have (had) a desire . . .
606 *aw pārēt . . . ta dāna min*: those monies which thou gavest me
Am. 710 *tištē min dāyav hinga*: the thing which I gave you
Zx. 774 *aw kasē awwilī bēt*: that person who first comes

[1] See § 293 (*a*).

With the omission of the enclitic substantive verb form described at § 309 (*c*) the distinction between a relative clause and an adjectival phrase is formally removed, e.g.

Ak. 543 *aw ḫākimē t sindôqēdā ṣānī ṙawī*: that governor (who is) in the chest barked like a dog

Am. 707A *aw tištēt binē baḫrēdā*: those things (which are) at the bottom of the sea

When the relative clause is separated from its antecedent it is introduced by the appropriate form of the Demonstrative Izafe (§ 266), e.g.

Ak. 575 *azē*[1] *hātīma wē dasrôkā zērā, yā ṣubay zû filān kasī ināy*: I have come for that kerchief (full) of gold which so-and-so brought early this morning

Gul. 757 *aw azim* yē *birāē ta az kuštīm*: I am he whom thy brother has killed

(*c*) Alternatively a relative clause may be introduced by the particle *kô*, with or without the Izafe,[2] e.g.

Ak. — *sar āvā* kô *tčīt l dirēžāīā galī*: over the river which goes along the valley (*āv* F.)

535 *kāyazak dīt* kô *yā nivīsī*[1] . . .: (they) saw a letter (in) which was written . . . (*kāyaz* F.)

593 *aw masalā* kô *az bô hātīm*[1]: that question about which I have come (*masala* F.)

Zx. 774 *aw hustāē* kô *av ṗirā hanē āvā kirī*: the mason who built this (here) bridge (*hustā* M.)

Use of Tenses

§ 308. (*a*) The Present Indicative has aorist sense, e.g.

Ak. 561 *atô čī* tzānī: what dost thou know?

562 (*akar ṣa bīṙawīt*) *az tē* tgahim *aw čī* tbēžīt: (if a dog barks) I understand what it says

Am. 719 tbēna *dargahakī dargahē zēbārē*: they call one gate the Zebar Gate

The sense of continuity, of a state or action in progress, is given by a construction described in detail at § 309.

[1] See § 313.

[2] The particle *kô* may even intrude in the normal Izafe construction (§ 263 (*b*)), e.g.

Ak. 622 *awē kô xudānē pāra*: he, the owner of the money

(*b*) Future time is expressed by the simple present tense and the particle *dē* (§ 281 (*b*)). This normally comes at the beginning of the sentence or clause, either preceding or following a subject expressed, e.g.

Ak. 539 az dē *kičā xô* damē: I shall give him my daughter
541 dē *ta* kama *sindôqēdā*: I shall put thee into the chest
545 dē tô *p min va* day: wilt thou strike me?
Am. 704 ažī dē *gal hinga* hēm: I too shall come with you
706 tô dē *vī ḫaywānī* firôšī: wilt thou sell this animal?
717 dē tô *či l ma* kay: whatever thou wilt do to us
Gul. 756 am dē *mālā xwa* bīn: we shall take our home . . .

§ **309.** (*a*) The Demonstrative Izafe (frequently reduced to an enclitic vowel, indistinguishable from the Individual Izafe, *v.* § 266 (*b*))[1] appears with the Present Indicative tense (§ 283) giving the sense of a state or action in progress, i.e. of a Present Continuous tense, e.g.

Sur — *az* wē *tē* gam: I understand
— *xawīn* wā tē: we are sleepy (lit. 'our sleep is coming') (*xaw* F.)
Ak. — *maryamā* txôt, *azē* nāxôm: Miriam is eating, I am not
— *dastē minē* tēšīt: my hand is aching (*dast* M.)
— *xawā minā* tēt: I am sleepy
539 *ḫākimē mûsilē* yē *kāyazā* tnivīsīt: the governor of Mosul is (constantly) writing letters (*ḫākim* M.)
557 *amē čēčikēt xô* nanāsīnava[2]: (now) we do not recognize our own cubs
633 *azā* tbīnim: I (female) can see
Am. 707 *čand rôža azē nānī* dama *hinga*: how many days is it that I have (continuously) given you bread?
718 *amēt* . . . tāxivīn: we are talking
Gul. — *azē nānī* txum: I am eating
Zx. — *xawā minē* tēt: I am sleepy
777 *šôlē xô* yē tkin: they are doing their work
777 *amē* tbīnīn: we can see
781 *ava* . . . wē *p min* ǩanitin: he is laughing at me
Shn. — *xawā mi* wā tēt: I am sleepy

[1] In the following example the Demonstrative Izafe appears to be replaced by the Secondary Izafe,
Bar. 742 *ava ǩāfiraki* tētin: here is a monster coming (cf. (*c*) fn. below)

[2] See fn. 1, p. 181.

(*b*) The same construction occurs with the enclitic present tense form of the Substantive verb (§ 284 (*a*)) when the predicate is a simple nominal form,[1,2] e.g.

Ak. 533 *azē musāfir*-im: I am (temporarily) a traveller

contrast,

Ak. 561 *ayš diz*-im: I too am a thief
619 *az bisilmān*-im: I am a Moslem

With adjectives the same temporal sense may be given, e.g.

Ak. 548 *mār* yē *ḫaq*-a: the snake is in the right
568 *čand malyôn* t *kēm*-in: how many millions are short?
616 *dikān* yā *qapāt-kirī*-a[3]: the shop is shut
Am. 717 *am* t *ḫāzir*-īn: we are ready

The Demonstrative Izafe may, however, merely give the adjective 'substantive' force (*v.* § 266 (*a*) (ii)), e.g.

[1] The following examples have unexplained forms, possibly Secondary Izafe out of normal context:

Sur. 508 *amā rūsin ū* a *birsi*-yna: we are naked and hungry (*v.* § 275 (*a*), Note 4)
520 *ḫatā azī sāx*-im: as long as I am well (alive)
— *azī mafbūr*-im: I am obliged (to go now)
Shn. — *awī nivistī*-a: he is asleep
but — *aw* yā *nivistī*-a: she is asleep, regularly

[2] Cukerman, op. cit. (i), p. 139, using texts of varying provenance, describes a similar construction with the Secondary Izafe in place of the Demonstrative. He does not, however, differentiate between the temporal construction, the simple 'substantivized' adjective and the 'phrase introduced by a preposition' ((*c*) below), though all three types appear in his examples, e.g.

Temporal
azī xarīb-im: I am a stranger
sōsika wastyāy-a: (the mare) Sosik is tired
Substantivized
wardaka zafa āqil *bū*: Wardak was a very clever woman
qasra badaw *bū*: the palace was beautiful
Prepositional
mīrī na l māl: the Mir is not at home

[3] When the adjective is a past participle (§ 288 (*b*)) this construction may contrast with a verbal one in which no substantive verb is expressed (*v.* § 313), e.g.

Ak. 587 *dīt kô sa'īdē* rû-ništī-*a l sar taxtī*: he saw that Said was *seated* on a chair

contrast,

543 *dīt ḫākimē ākrē* yē rû ništī *l sar taxtē xô*: he saw the governor of Akre (was) sitting on his throne

Ak. — *hakô mārī* yē xār-*a*: he is as crooked as a snake
548 *av ţāē hanē* yē bāš-*a bô hinǰār*: this (here) branch is a good one for a plough-arm
589 *ŕidīnā wī* yā ŕaš-*a*: his beard is a black one
Am. 718 *āmēdīē* . . . yā ḫisār-kirī-*a*: Amadiye is walled round

(*c*) When the predicate of an affirmative sentence or clause is a phrase introduced by a preposition, or comprises an absolute preposition alone (§ 302), it is joined to its subject by the Demonstrative Izafe,[1] whether the sense be aoristic or continuous. The enclitic present form of the Substantive verb is then omitted, generally in the 3rd person Sg. and Pl. and optionally in the other persons, e.g.

Ak. — *minē gu* lē: I hear (lit. 'for me the ear (is) to it)
533 *mālā minā* l *filān ǰādē*: my house (is) in such-and-such street
538 *kāyazakā* l *wē darē*: (there is) a letter there
544 *mārak* yē t *nāv bafrēdā*: (there is) a snake in the snow
568 *sē mirôvēt* lē: (there are) three men in it
572 *awēt wē āxiftinēdā*: they (are) engaged in this talk
616 *ǰantak* yā l *barē dikānakē*: (there is) a bag (lying) in front of a shop
Am. 718 *galak bināyatēt kavnēt* lē: (there are) many old buildings in it
718 *āmēdīē* yā l *sarē girakī*: Amadiye (is) on a hill
Gul. 768 *kutilik* . . . yā t *sēnīkā wīdā*: (there is) a rissole in his tray
Zx. — *azē* l *vē ôdē*(-ma): I (am) in this room
— *amē*(t) l *vē ôdē*(-yna): we (are) in this room
777 *filahēt* lē-na: there are Christians in it

When the sentence contains a main verb the Izafe in this construction may also be considered as joining a relative clause (without a verb) to its antecedent (cf. §§ 307 (*b*), 313 (*b*)), e.g.

Ak. 543 *av ḫākimē* t *şindôqēdā şānī ŕawī*: that governor (who was) in the chest barked like a dog

[1] In the following example the Demonstrative Izafe appears to be replaced by the Secondary Izafe (cf. fn. 1, p. 205).

Bar. 734 *ava šīrakī dastē dalālakīdā*: (here is) a sword in the hands of a broker.

The construction is not affected when the relative clause has a different subject to that of the main sentence, e.g.

Zx. — *bāžêrē kičikā minā lē galak dīra*: the town, in which my daughter (is), is very far away

In a phrase introduced by *waxtē*, &c., 'when' the Demonstrative Izafe is omitted (cf. § 313 (*b*)), e.g.

Ak. 616 waxtē *irāq* t *dastē anglēzīdā*: when Iraq (was) in the hands of the British

§ 310. The Present Subjunctive is employed:

(*a*) in subordinate clauses, whether introduced by a conjunction or not, e.g.

Ak. 556 *ḥīlayakē bika dā . . . xilās* bibīn: make some ruse that we may be saved
557 *dē šarī kayn ḥatā gurg* bibēžita *ma . . .*: we shall fight so that the wolf says to us . . .
561 *min nākana širīkē xô, gal hungô* bēm: won't you make me your companion, that I may come with you?

Am. 703A *ṭā bôn dā* čina *āšī*: they got up to go to the mill
708 *kārē xô kir dā* bēhnav *baydā*: they made their preparations in order to return to Baghdad

(*b*) with the conjunction *dā*, with injunctive force, e.g.

Ak. — dā bizānīt *namāya*: he should know that there is none left
533 dā bičim, *ǰarikē xô dā nima māl*: let me go and put my water-pot down at home
544 dā namirītin *sarmādā*: it ought not to (be left to) die of cold
626 dā bičīna *māl*: let us go home

(*c*) following *tvyā*, &c., 'must, ought' and *bilā* 'let . . .' (*v.* § 295 (*b*), with examples).

(*d*) following certain verbs, e.g.

Ak. 684 *az našēm* bēm: I cannot come (*šyān*)
574 *min tvēt . . . paydā* bītava: I want it to be found (*vyān*)

600 *az ḫaz kam* bizānim: I would like to know (*ḫaz kirin*)

684 *malā navērā dar* kavītin: the mullah durst not go out (*wērān*)

§ **311.** (*a*) The Present and Past Imperfect tenses (§§ 283 (*a*), 287 (*a*)) are practically coextensive, the Present being the more common, in giving the sense of a repeated or habitual action or state in the past, e.g.

Ak. 543 *hakô māndî* tbô . . . dā *gurēl* kat: whenever he became tired he would roll it

550 *hamó sālē* dā *šîrî l min* xôn: every year they would drink milk from me

595 *žinā wî har ǰîvîn* tdānē, *aḫmad har* dā girît: his wife kept abusing him (and) Ahmed wept all the time

Am. 707A *harô sipēda yā zú* dā īā bīt: he would get up every day at early dawn

Bar. 730 *aw* dā *bičûkêt xalkî* kužîtin: he used to beat people's children

Zx. 774 *hindî* . . . *āvā* tkir . . . dā *p̄ir ǰārak dî* ǩavitin: however much he used to build it up the bridge would always fall down again

(*b*) The Present Imperfect also gives the sense of an action, &c., about to take place, e.g.

Ak. 545 *naxô* dā mirî: otherwise thou wast about to die

547 *av māra t nāv bafrēdā bô*, dā mirît *l sarmā*: this snake was in the snow, dying of cold

682 dā īā bîtin, . . . *šôlā xirāb* . . . *bikatin*: he was going to get up and do something evil

Zx. 780 *azā* quſim . . . *aw žî* dā *mi* quſit: I was about to hit him, he too was going to hit me

(*c*) The Present Imperfect appears in the apodosis of certain conditions (*v.* § 315) and in Suppositions, even when the condition is not expressed, e.g.

Ak. — *xôzî min dîtbā*, dā *ṯôlā xô lē va* kam: I wish I could see him, (were I to do so) I would take my revenge

§ 312. (*a*) The Past tense is the normal narrative tense, describing a state or action in the past, e.g.

Ak. 547 *amin . . . hal* girt, *dā* nā *ǰandikēdā . . . davē ǰandikē min* dirû *ô ǰandik min* hāvēta *pištā xô*: I picked it up, put it in the bag, sewed the mouth of the bag and put it over my shoulder

Am. 704 *bālīl* čô, *kēlik* girtîn, kirina *t ṣindôqādā*: Bahlul went, caught some cats and put them into the chests

(*b*) The Past tense is also employed for recently perfected actions, e.g.

Ak. 536 *la'bēt xô min hamô bīr* kirinava: I have (just) forgotten all my tricks again

559 *am . . . pēk* hātîn: we have come together

A long completed action, &c., is expressed by the Perfect or Pluperfect tense, e.g.

Ak. 567 *ta* zānīa *čī* qawmīa: hast thou learnt what has happened?

582 *wa ḏyāra aw l min 'adālattir* bīa: evidently he was more just than I

595 *atô* bīa *mēvānē aḫmadī*: wast thou Ahmed's guest?

579 *awī čī* kirbô, . . . *awī zangilak . . . dirist* kirbô, *zinǰīrak vē* čxistbô: what did he do (lit. 'had he done')? He made a bell and fixed a chain to it

§ 313 (*a*) The Perfect Indicative I (§ 289 (*a*)) is employed only in the negative and interrogative and in some subordinate clauses. In affirmative statements (including relative clauses) the Demonstrative Izafe, or a reduced form of it (*v.* § 266 (*b*)), generally appears with the Perfect II form (§ 289 (*c*)), e.g.

Sur. 512 *hindak nān û kasbim* ē . . . hīnāy: I have brought some bread and comestibles

512 *--im gôšt* . . . wē hīnāy: I have brought meat

520 *hind zēŕī* wē rītîna: it has voided so much gold

Ak. — *av mēza kē čē* kirīa? *min čē* nakirīa, *naǰārī* yā *čē* kirī: who has made this table? Not I, the carpenter has made it (*mēz* F.)

535 *kāyazak dīt kô* yā nivīsī . . .: they saw a letter (in) which was written . . . (*kāyaz* F.)

543 *dīt ḫākimē ākrē* yē rû ništī *l sar taxtē xô*: he saw the governor of Akre was sitting on his throne

550 *azā p̣ir* bīm: I (a cow) have grown old (*čēl* F.)

550 *galak čēl ô gā* yē *l min zēda* bīn: many cows and oxen have sprung from me

550 *min galak xēr* yā *l vē čēlē* dītī: I have seen much good from this cow (*xēr* F.)

553 *min tô* yē *l pištā xô* kirī: I have put thee (a snake) on my back (*mār* M.)

557 *ma čēčik vēkřā* yēt kirīn: we have whelped together

Am. 710A *minē* dāyn*av hinga ťôťik*: I have given you dung fuel-cakes

717 *wāf̣ib ma* yā *ḫal* kirī, *balē hamī ma* na *ḫal* kirīa: we have done (lit. 'solved') our homework, but we have not done all of it (*wāf̣ib* F.)

Bar. 732 *azē dayndār* bīm: I have become indebted

Gul. — *min šīvā* lēnāy: I have prepared supper (*šīv* F.)

Zx. 773 *p̣iraka* . . . wē hātī *āvā kirīn*: (there) is a bridge (which) has been built . . . (*p̣ir* F.)

776 *aw dārā banôkē* . . . wē māy: that terebinth tree still remains (lit. 'has remained') (*dār* F.)

777 *f̣ô* . . . yē . . . *šaq* kirī: the canal has been split off (from the river) (*f̣ô* F.)

(*b*) The Demonstrative Izafe is omitted from this construction in a relative clause introduced by either an Individual or a Demonstrative Izafe form (cf. §§ 307 (*b*), 309 (*c*)), even when this 'relative' Izafe has no connexion with the verb, e.g.

Ak. 575 . . . *dasrôk* . . . yā *filān kasī* īnāy: the kerchief which so-and-so brought

593 *aw masalā kô ax bô* hātīm: that question about which I have come

[contrast,

Ak. 588 *azē* hātīm *bô masalak*: I have come about a question]

Am. 710 *tišťē min* dāy*av hinga* . . . *bidanav min*: give me back the thing which I have given to you

Zx. 774 *aw husťāē kô av p̣irā hanē āvā* kirī: the mason who has built this (here) bridge

Likewise in clauses introduced by *waxtē*, &c., 'when' and similar temporal adverbs the Perfect II form appears without the Demonstrative Izafe (cf. § 309 (*c*)), e.g.

Am. 703A waxtē čôyn*a āšī*: when they went to the mill
Bar. 731 waxtē *sē čārak* kuštī: when he had beaten three or four
Gul. — waxtē *az* čôym *sûkē*: when I went to the market
Zx. 776 pištī kô *pir āvā* kirī: after the bridge was built

Occasionally the Demonstrative Izafe is omitted in other contexts,[1] e.g.

Ak. 580 *sarē xô* (yē) hāvētī*a kalābā zinjīrē*: it has put its head in the hook of the chain
583 *'amrē wī* gaštī*a 140 sālī*: his age has reached some 140 years

Conditions

§ 314. Present and future, possible conditions.

(*a*) In the protasis the Present Subjunctive, or where appropriate the Future tense, appears, e.g.

Subjunctive

Ak. — *agar xudē* nadat, *nādat*: if God does not give (a thing) He does not (and there is an end)
546 *dužmin* bigat*a dužminī*: if one enemy meet the other
562 *akar ṣa* biřawīt: if a dog should bark
562 *akar ma* bigirin: if they should catch us
Am. 712 *az bisilmān* bim: if I am a Moslem
Gul. — *haǩar xalīl* bēt: if Khalil should come
Zx. — *haǩar min pāra* habin: if I were to have (any) money

Future

Ak. 569 *akar* dē *ma ṣalbīī* kay: even if thou wilt hang us
573 dē *tôba* kan: if you will repent

[1] The Ak. form *gōtī* 'he said', in contrast to *gōt-ē* 'he said to him', might be explained as such a Perfect II, without the Demonstrative Izafe, from *gōt-*. The Past Imperfect in Ak. 609 *min tgōtī* 'I used to say', however, suggests a secondary past stem **gōti-*. The same example, having a 1st Sg. agent (Ak. 618 *min gōtī* 'I said' also), rules out any immediate connexion with the Sor. construction *gōt-ī* 'he said' (cf. § 225 (iv) (*y*)).

(*b*) If the action of the apodosis must, of necessity, follow that of the protasis in time then the Past tense may appear in the protasis, e.g.

Ak. — *agar filkēt bāš min* dītin *dē bô ta kīřim*: if I see any good clothes I shall buy them for thee

553 *akar dužmin* gašta *dužminī lēk řā nābirin*: if one enemy meet the other they do not pass one another by

Gul. — *haǩar xalīl* hāť *bēža wī*: if Khalil comes tell him

§ 315. Past, impossible conditions.

The Perfect Conditional tense is used in the protasis and the Present or Past Imperfect in the apodosis, e.g.

Ak. — *agar az xûtir* čôbāmā . . . dā bīnim: if I had gone earlier I would have seen (him)

— *hakar min tiving vē* bā[1] . . . dā kužim: if I had had a gun with me I would have killed it

— *hakar ta* nakuštbā *ta fīlār* natkir: hadst thou not killed him thou wouldst not have fled

Am. — *haǩa tô dirangtir* hāťbāyā . . . dā *p miřā* gahī: if thou hadst come later thou wouldst have met me

Zx. — *haǩar am* nahāťbān *awī am* natdīřin: if we had not come he would not have seen us

§ 316. The particle Ak., Am. *xôzī*, Gul. *xwazī*, Zx. *xuzī* 'would that . . .' is always followed by the Perfect Conditional tense, regardless of the possibility or otherwise of the realization of the wish, e.g.

Ak. — *xôzī aw ǧubay* hātbā: would he were coming tomorrow

— *xôzī nôka* hātbā: would that he would come now

— *xôzī min tô* dītbāyava: would that I could see thee again

— *xôzī min tô* dītbāyā: would that I had seen thee

Am. — *xôzī am* hāťbāynā: would that we had come

Gul. — *xwazī tô* čôbāē: would that thou wouldst go

Zx. — *xuzī hûn* čôbān: would that you had gone

[1] See fn. 1, p. 189.

C. WORD FORMATION

(All references, unless otherwise stated, to Ak. only)

Compounds

§ 317. Two types of Copulative compound occur.

(*a*) Compounds of two nouns or adjectives joined by the conjunction *ô*, &c., 'and' are not common, but do occur, e.g.

kār-ô-bār	'affairs' (work and ? load)
sar-ô-čāv	'face' (head and eyes)
ṭayr-ô-ṭawāl	'birds' (birds and ?)
ēk-u-dô	'one another' (one and two)

(*b*) Morphemes indicating the making of some noise occur reduplicated with the compound vowel *-a-* (cf. § 252 (*c*)), e.g.

bilq-a-bilq	'bubbling'
huš-a-huš	'rustling'
kus-a-kus	'whispering'
xiř-a-xiř	'snoring'

Nouns or morphemes occur reduplicated and with the 'diminutive' suffix *-ôk* (§ 320), e.g.

viřviřôk	'whirligig' (*viř* 'whirr')
xālxālôk	'lady-bird' (*xāl* 'spot')
xāxxāzôk	'mumper, cadger' (*xāz-* 'beg')

§ 318. Determinative compounds may be dependent or descriptive. However formed, such compounds frequently take a 'diminutive' suffix *-ik*, *-ôk*, &c. (§ 320).

(*a*) Dependent compounds are of two types:

(i) A noun qualified by another noun in some case relation to it, mainly genitive. Such compounds may appear with the qualifier preceding the qualified, but more commonly are inverted, and with the compound vowel *-a-*, e.g.

gil-kan	'clay-pit'
ma-čētir	'ghost' (us-better, cf. NP *az-mā-behtarān*)
ṫôā-āvā	'sun-set' (*āvā bôn* 'set')

Inverted,

birā-zāvā	'best man' (brother of bridegroom)
gul-buhār	'marigold' (flower of spring)

kuř-xāl	'cousin' (son of maternal uncle)
kûra-gēč	'lime-burning-pit' (pit for lime)
žin-bāb	'stepmother' (wife of father)

and, with the compound vowel,

āv-a-māst	'curds and water mixed' (water of curds)
bar-a-āš	'millstone' (stone of mill)
fālk-a-pûnk	'mint sweetmeat' (lump of mint)
žān-a-sar	'headache' (ache of head)

(ii) A verbal stem, or past participle, restricted by a preceding object, e.g.

Stem:

didān-kēš	'dentist' (tooth-puller)
das-gir	'fiancé(e)' (hand-holder)
mēr-kuž	'murderer' (man-killer)
māsī-gir(ik)	'kingfisher' (fish-catcher)
sar-šó	'bath-attendant' (head-washer)
[cf. *sar-šók*	'bath-house']

Participle:

das-bardāy	'spendthrift' (hand-opened)
kār-kirī	'adorned' (adornment-made)
ṭil-dāy	'bulging' (bulge-given)
xûn-girtī	'bloody' (blood-seized)

(*b*) Descriptive compounds consist chiefly of a noun qualified by an adjective or, rarely, a noun in apposition. The latter follows the noun qualified in

bā-kurôva 'sleet' (wind—fine snow)

A qualifying adjective may precede the noun it qualifies, e.g.

mē-kaw	'she-partridge'
řaš-māl	'black tent'
zīř-bāb	'stepfather' (barren-father)

or follow it. e.g.

daḥla-řaš-ik	'blackberry bush' (thorn—black)
kunamērû-sûār	'long-legged ant' (ant—mounted)
māsī-xiř-ik	'tadpole' (fish—spherical)
paz-kûvī	'moufflon' (sheep—mountain, wild)
tû-mirī	'inedible mulberry' (mulberry—dead)

and, with a compound vowel,

Am.	*kirm-a-şŏr-ik*	'caterpillar' (worm—red)
	kĕz-a-ṙaš	'cockchafer' (beetle—black)

There is a small group of descriptive compounds formed with the negative prefix *na-*, e.g.

na-hiš	'un-conscious'
na-xôš	'un-well'

§ 319. Secondary Adjectival compounds may be possessive or prepositional.

(*a*) The Possessive compounds are generally descriptive compounds with possessive meaning, e.g.

du-ṙû	'two-faced'
girān-bā	'one who sells dearly'
xila-qûn-k	'dragonfly' (straw-tail)

and, inverted,

	bĕn-ţang	'impatient, depressed' (breath—tight)
	čīrik-dirēž	'boring, garrulous' (story—long)
	dû-maqas-ik	'earwig; swallow' (tail—scissors)
Zx.	*hastī-sivik*	'handsome' (bone—light)
	xûn-šīrīn	'handsome' (blood—sweet)
	nāvčāv-šīn	'glum' (forehead—blue)
	sar-ṙût	'bald' (head—bare)
Am.	*sar-ťalī*	'dragonfly' (head—spindle)
	pirč-zar	'blond(e)' (hair—yellow)

(*b*) The preposition *p* forms an infinite number of adjectival compounds, e.g.

p-čak	'armed'	*p-şānāī*	'easy'
p-hīvī	'hopeful'	*p-ỳyārī*	'attentive(ly)'
p-hawas	'happy'	*p-tišt*	'pregnant'
p-laz	'in a hurry'	*p-xabar*	'faithful'

Other examples of prepositional compounds are:

	bē-xwē	'tasteless' (without salt)
	bar-dast	'available' (before hand)
	bar-pirs	'responsible' (before questioning)
	pēš-čāv	'famous' (before eye)
Am.	*t-xaw*	'asleep' (in sleep)

Suffixes

§ 320. The following suffixes form nouns:

(*a*) Abstract

-ī, forms abstract nouns from adjectives, e.g.

'ẽǰizī 'anger', *girānī* 'famine', *kôraī* 'blindness', *lāyiqī* 'suitability', *sivikī* 'ease', *şārī* 'coldness', *šyārī* 'attention', *tûṙaī* 'peevishness', *xûndārī* 'feud'.

-āī, *-ātī*, *-yātī*, likewise form abstract nouns of measure or quality, e.g.

dirēžāī 'length', *pānāī*, *pānātī* 'breadth';
dužmināti 'enmity', *kičikātī* 'smallness', *kavnātī* 'age', *māzināti* 'bigness', Bar. *māzināťī* 'rulership';
sûryātī 'redness', *sivikyātī* 'flippancy'.

-īnī, *-ānī*, form abstract nouns of state, e.g.

dôstīnī, *dôstānī* 'friendship', *havālīnī* 'comradeship';
lāvānī 'youthfulness'.

(*b*) Diminutive

The following suffixes form derived nouns of various meanings, some of which may be classed as 'diminutive'. Often the meaning of the simplex is completely unaltered and the suffix is optional.
-(i)k, Am., &c., generally *-(i)k*,

Am. *āxûrik* 'sandfly', *bālīfik* (*-ik*) 'pillow', *barik* 'pebble, fruit stone', *bērik* 'shovel', *baīik* (*-ik*) 'rug', Am. *barxik* 'lambkin', *dôrik* (*-ik*) 'round loaf', *guhārik* (*-ik*) 'ear-ring', *hirmī*, Am. *hirmīk* 'pear', *ǰôlān*, Am. *ǰôlānk* 'hammock', *liḥēfik* (*-ik*) 'quilt'.

-ôk, Am., &c., *-ôk*,

binafšôk 'violet', Am. *banôk* 'terebinth tree', *banīštôk* 'chewing gum', *bāzinôk* 'armlet', *bixmārôk* 'corn, callus', *dudavôk* 'pickaxe', *kangir*(*ôk*) 'edible thistle', Zx. *liyāvôk* 'bridle', *qalaflôk* 'nose-stud' (*qalafil* 'clove'), *ţayrôk* 'butterfly', *zimānôk* 'uvula'.

-lik, *-lka*, (rare)

sipīlik 'egg-white'; *pēšûlka* 'mosquito', **pišīlik* or **pišīlka* 'kitten' in *pišīlkā mīrā* 'thistledown'.

-ôšik, (rare)

baqmārôšik 'type of lizard', *dāpīrôšik* 'spider'.

(*c*) Concrete

-(a)vān, *-čī*, form nouns of trades or skills, e.g.

āšavān 'miller', *barxavān* 'lambherd', *kāravān* 'kidherd', *ṟazavān* 'gardener'; *nēčīrvān* 'huntsman', Am. *ṯanûrvān* 'baker';
čāčī 'teashop-keeper', *laymačī* 'sapper'.

-kar, *-kār*, form nouns and adjectives meaning 'doer, maker of . . .', e.g. *šaṟkar* 'aggressive, fighter';

hārīkār 'helper, assistant'.

-ān, *-āna*, *-ānē*, form names of games, e.g.

hôlān 'polo'; *čamkāna* 'hockey';
dāmānē 'draughts', *gôlānē* 'football', *katīkānē* 'five-stones', *lukmānē* 'boxing', *muhr-ô-xatānē* 'heads or tails', *mātānē* 'marbles', *sartirinǰān(ē)* 'chess', *xô-lēk-dānānē* 'wrestling'.

§ 321. The following suffixes form adjectives:

-ī, forms adjectives from nouns, e.g.

binī 'underneath', *gundī* 'village, rural', *pīvāzī* 'pink, onion-coloured', *qahwaī*, Shn. *qahwāy* 'brown, coffee-coloured', *qirēžī* 'dirty, filthy'.

-ôk, Zx. *-ô*, rare, forms adjectives of quality from nouns, e.g.

tirsôk 'cowardly';
Zx. *gilīzô* 'dribbling, slobbery', *kilmīšô* 'snotty'.

-dār, forms adjectives meaning 'possessed of . . .', e.g.

birīndār 'wounded', *dayndār* 'indebted', *kôvāndār* 'injured', *xûndār* 'at feud'.

§ 322. (*a*) The 'regular' Intransitive verb is characterized by the past stem Ak., &c., *-yā-*, Gul., Zx. *-hā-*, infinitive *-yān*, *-hān*, present stem *-(y)ē-*, *-hē-* respectively, e.g.

Ak. *biryān*, *biryē-*, Zx. *birhān*, *birhē-* 'cease'
Ak. *gaṟyān*, *gaṟ(y)ē-*, Gul. *gaṟhān*, *gaṟhē-* 'wander'
Ak. *ṟižyān*, *ṟižyē-*, Zx. *ṟižhān*, *ṟižhē-* 'pour'

The corresponding Transitive verb is a Causative formation from the same stem (*v.* § 298).

(*b*) The same morphemes, Intransitive *-yā-*, *-yē-* (Gul., Zx. *-hā-*, *-hē-*), Transitive *-ānd-*, *-īn-*, also form verbs from 'loan-morphemes' of Arabic origin, e.g.

Ak. *'alamāndin*, *'alamīn-* 'teach' (Ar. *'alima*)
ḥabāndin, *ḥabīn-* 'love' (Ar. *ḥabba*)
ḥalyān, Zx. *ḥalhān* 'melt' (Ar. *ḥalla*), *ḥalāndin* 'melt'
qatyān, Gul. *qaṭhān* 'finish, come to an end' (Ar. *qaṭa'a*),
qatāndin 'finish, bring to an end'

In Zx. the morpheme *-āndin* may also form infinitive verbal nouns from Transitive present stems although the past stem is not in *-ānd-*, e.g.

Zx. *daynā-*, *dayn-* 'put down' : *daynāndin* F. 'putting down'
nivīsī-, *nivīs-* 'write' : *nivīsāndin* F. 'writing'

PART IV

DIALECT GROUPING

§ 323. Of the historical sound-changes which distinguish dialects *within* the Kurdish family two may be considered of major significance. As will be seen, both are reflected in the morphology of the dialects.

(*a*) OIr. inter- and postvocalic *m*, *p* yield *v* in all the dialects described in Part III except Sur. (viz. Ak., Am., Bar., Gul., Zx., Shn., Bot., Rwn.), *w* in all the dialects of Part II and Sur. (viz. Sul., War., Bin., Piž., Muk., Arb., Rdz., Xoš., Sur.), e.g.

		Ak., &c.		Sul., &c.	
Av.	*gāman-*	> *gāv*	:	*han]gāw*	'pace'
	hāmina-	> *hāvīn*	:	*hāwīn*	'summer'
	nāman-	> *nāv*	:	*nāw*	'name'
Av.	*āp-*	> *āv*	:	*āw*	'water'
	xšap-	> *šav*	:	*šaw*	'night'
	**fšu.pāna-*	> *švān*	:	*šwān*	'shepherd'

This development of *m* affects the proximate demonstrative adjective. In Ak., &c., the forms *av*, &c. (§ 277) < OIr. *ima-* are distinct from the remote demonstrative *aw*, &c. < OIr. *awa-*. In Sur., Muk., and the Sor. dialects the two demonstratives fall regularly together in the forms *aw*, &c. Only in Sul., War. is the *m* irregularly preserved, and with it the distinction between proximate and remote demonstratives *am*:*aw* (§ 192) (cf. Barr, op. cit., p. 183, Anm.).

The development of *p* is reflected in the common preverb Ak., &c., *va*, *-(a)va* (§ 300 (*a*)), Sul., &c., *-(a)wa* (§ 235), cf. NP *bāz*, *vā* (Mann, Muk. § 59) < **apāčā* or **apāk-* respectively (Henning, ZII. 9. 231).

(*b*) The regular outcome of OIr. suffix *-aka* in Kd., reflected even in loanwords of the NIr. period, appears to be War. *-iǰ* (*Sinaī*, &c., *-ig*), Sul., Bin., Piž., Muk. *-uw*, *-ū*, Arb., Rdz., Xoš., Sur., Ak., &c., *-ī*, e.g.

	War., &c.		Sul., &c.		Arb., Ak., &c.	
Sinaī	*dazig*	:	*dazū*	:	*dazī*	'thread'
	hařig	:		:	*hařī*	'mud'
	māzig	:	*māzū*	:	*mą̄zī*	'gall-apple'
	řōžig	:	*řōžū*	:	*řōžī*	'fasting'
	tīnig	:	*tīnū*	:	*tēnī*	'thirsty'
War.	*xānič*	:	*xānū*	:	*xānī*	'house'
	zīnič	:	*zīyū*	:	*zindī*	'alive'

This development is most regularly seen, however, in the past participle of all verbs (§§ 213, 288) < OIr. **-ta-ka-*, e.g. Wār. *hātič*: Sul. *hātuw*: Arb., Ak. *hātī* 'having come'.

§ 324. Other sound-changes are best epitomized by a comparison of the phonemic systems of the various dialects. Of those studied:

(i) War. is alone in possessing the allophone *ǧ*, i.e. continuant realization of *g* (§ 64 ff.). War. is also the only dialect to show the regular reduction of intervocalic *b* to *w* (§ 62), of *-iwi-* to *-ū-* (§ 75), and of *st* to *s* (§ 74 (*b*)).

(ii) War. and Sul. are marked off from all other dialects by the phoneme *ŋ* (§ 24), the diphthongs of class (iii) (§§ 50, 53), and by the reduction of *nd* to *n* or *ŋ* (§§ 57 (*a*), 74 (*a*)) with its bearing on the causative conjugation, *-āndin* > *-ānin* (§ 233).

(iii) War., Sul., Bin., Piž., ? Muk. alone have *ø* (§§ 47, 72), and *l* (§ 14).

(iv) Arb., Rdz., Xoš., Sur. regularly replace *l* by *r* (§ 98). Other dialects have *l* for Sul., &c., *l*, *l*. The same dialects, Arb., &c., regularly have *ć*, *j* for common *č*, *ǰ* (§ 82).

(v) Sur., although it has the same phonemic system as Arb., is marked by a number of phonetic divergences (§ 102 ff.).

(vi) The dialects of Ak., Am., Bar., Gul., Zx., &c., are differentiated from those of Sul., &c., by the 'emphatic' phonemes *ṣ*, *ṭ*, *ǧ*.

(vii) The dialects of Am., Bar., Gul., Zx., Rwn. present two groups of consonant phonemes, aspirate and unaspirate *k̔*, *t̔*, *p̔*: *k*, *t*, *p*. (§ 157), in opposition to Sul.–Ak. (and possibly Shn., BX, &c.) which have only one, aspirate, series *k*, *t*, *p*.

(viii) Ak., Am., Bar., Gul., Zx., with Hak. and Bot., form a

unique group with the modified realization of *ó*, *ú* as [u:, y:] (§§ 147, 160 (*a*)).

A further, but less definite, distinguishing feature between certain dialects, here represented by Sul. and Ak. respectively, is the incidence of consonant groups. The difference between Sul., with some eighty possible initial groups, and Ak., with little more than a dozen, is most striking. On the other hand, the 'algebraic' realization of secondary consonant groups in Ak., Am., &c. (§§ 154, 159), is not found in Sul., &c.

§ 325. The main line of distinction between what may conveniently be called N(orthern) and C(entral) dialects can be seen to run between the dialects of Ak., Shn., &c., on the one hand and Arb., Rdz., Muk., &c., on the other, with Sur. necessarily taking an intermediate position. On either side of this line there appear, apart from the phonetic items mentioned above (§§ 323 (*a*), 324 (vi)), a number of contrasting morphological features.

(i) A major distinction lies in the system of personal pronouns—with suffix forms in the case of the C. dialects, including Sur. (§ 196), without suffix forms in the N. dialects (§ 275).

(ii) The suffix pronouns have a variety of functions (§ 197 (*b*)) of which the most characteristic is that of Agent in the Agential construction of the same C. dialects (§ 223). This construction, with its obligatory Agent, contrasts with the simpler Passive construction of the N. dialects (§ 296). The contrast is heightened by the faculty of the C. dialect verb for taking two verbal endings (§ 230). In Bin., Piž. alone of the C. dialects is there any reflection of the N. construction (§ 225, *Note*).

(iii) Apart from the Passive construction of the past tenses of all transitive verbs the N. dialects have no Passive conjugation. A present Passive can only be expressed by a periphrasis (§ 297). In contrast, all the C. dialects have a fully developed secondary Passive conjugation (§ 231).

(iv) While an indefinite nominal suffix appears in all Kd. dialects in the form *-ēk* or *-ak* (§§ 176, 259) a corresponding definite suffix *-aka* is found only in the C. dialects, including Sur., and to a lesser extent in Ak. (§§ 174, 258 (*b*)). Cognate with this there appears a general demonstrative suffix *-a* in all C. dialects (§ 175), which is restricted to proximate demonstrative use in the N.

dialects Sur., Ak.–Zx. Both *-aka* and *-a* commonly appear in conjunction with the open compound construction (§ 185), which is not found in the N. dialects.

§ 326. In the main the systems of nominal inflexion for number, gender, and case, and including the Izafe, are contrasted on either side of the same line. A number of Northern features do, however, appear in modified form below the line. Thus:

(i) All N. dialects have a distinction of grammatical gender in the Singular, manifest in the case endings (§ 261) and the Izafe (§ 264). This distinction is preserved in the C. dialects of Muk., Arb., Rdz., Xoš., but only in the case endings (§ 180). With the gender distinction preserved in the Bin., Piž. (Muk.), Izafe (§ 183), and 3rd singular personal pronoun oblique (§ 196), as well as in the nominal case endings, these dialects go together with the N. dialects more closely.

(ii) Corresponding to the Singular Oblique case endings the N. dialects have an exclusively Oblique Plural ending *-ā(n)* (§ 261 (*a*)). This same ending forms a general plural in all C. dialects (§ 177), whether the dialect has a case system or not.

(iii) The specifically Plural Izafe forms *-ēt*, &c., of the N. dialects (§ 264) are found also in Bin., Piž., Muk. *-ī da* (§ 183 (*c*)).

§ 327. The verbal systems of the various dialects offer the following contrasts:

(i) While all dialects from Bin., Piž. northwards have a modal prefix *da-* (§ 206 (*a*)), or *t-* < *di-* (§ 281 (*a*)), Sul. and War. have *a-*. This must be taken as a separate entity (with Barr, op. cit., p. 221, Anm.), and not as a form of *da-*, since initial *d* is not lost completely in any dialect (cf. § 8). Moreover, the two prefixes appear together in Rdz., Sur. where *d* is quite stable, but *a-* may here be a later borrowing.

(ii) The formation of a Future tense with an independent modal particle *dē*, &c., is restricted to the N. dialects, including Sur., Rwn., Bot. (§ 281 (*b*)). The temporal and other use of various forms of Izafe with the verb (§§ 309, 313) is likewise a feature of the N. dialects from Sur. to Rwn., with no counterpart in the C. dialects.

§ 328. From the following diagram it will be seen that there are two major lines of division between the dialects treated here:

(*a*) that between Arb. (Sur.) and Ak., dividing North from Centre, and

(*b*) that between Sul. and Bin., &c., dividing the more archaic Central dialects (Sor. and Muk.) from those of Sul. and War., with their leaning towards the Southern group.

§§	War.	Sul.	Bin., Piž.	Muk.	Arb., Rdz.	Sur.	Ak.	Am., Bar.	Zx., Gul.	Shn.
324 (vii)	NIL							Unaspirated stops		
324 (vi)	NIL							Emphatic consonants		
325 (iv)	*-aka*						[ ]	NIL		
323 (*a*)	*am* : *aw*		*aw*	Demonstratives				*aw* : *aw*		
323 (*a*)	*-awa* (*wa*)			Preverbs				*wa* (*-wa*)		
325 (i)	Suffix Pronouns							NIL		
325 (ii)	Agential Construction							Passive Construction		
325 (iv)	Open Compound							NIL		
326 (i)	Izafe *i*		*i* : *ë* [ ]					Izafe *ë* : *ā*		
326 (iii)	NIL		*i da*					Plural Izafe *ët*, &c.		
326 (ii)	*-ān* General Plural							*-ā(n)* Oblique Plural		
326 (iii)	Secondary Passive							Periphrastic Passive		
327 (ii)	NIL							Modal particles and Izafe with verb		
325 (iv)	*-d* General Demonstrative							*-á* Proximate Demonstrative		
323 (*b*)	*-ig*		*-nu*		Past Participle			*-ī*		
326 (i)	NIL		Gender manifest in Case endings							
327 (i)	*a-*		*da-*		*a-/da-*			Modal prefix *t-*		

APPENDIX

LIST OF VERBS[1]

I. Dialects of Group I

ALL forms are Sul. unless otherwise stated. Where only infinitive, or present stem, is quoted for another dialect this alone differs from Sul. 'Sor.' does not necessarily indicate that the form is common to all Sor. dialects.

ālān, ālē-; Arb. *ārān, ārē-*; *tēk* ~, vi. become entangled, embroiled.
ālōzān (*ālōshān*), *ālōzē-*, vi. tangle. [Arb. *ārōz būn.*]
aŋūtin, aŋū-; Piž., Muk. *angūtin*, vi. impinge.
aŋāwtin, aŋēw-; Piž., Muk. *angāwtin*, vt. hit *a mark.*
(an)ſinīn, (an)ſin-; Muk. *anſinīn*; War. *ſinīn*, vt. mince.
aspārdin, see *sipārdin.*
astāndin, see *stānin.*
astirīn, see *sirīn.*
ēlān, ēlē-, = Sor., Muk., vi. ache, hurt.
āwsān, āwsē-, = Muk., vi. swell.
āwasīn, see *wāsīn.*
āwī(ſ)tin, see *hāwīltin.*
War. *āwzyān*, ? , vt. grow up.
āxinīn, āxin-, = Sor., Muk., vt. stuff, fill.
ēxistin, see *xistin.*
aẍmārdin, see *ẍimārdin.*
āẍinīn, āẍin-, vt. prick, pierce.
Muk. *āẍwān, āẍō-*; Arb. *hāẍō(ſ)tin*, vt. drive *flocks.*

bičirīn, = *pičirīn.*
bōlānin, bōlēn-; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. murmur, mumble.
**būn, b-*, = Sor., Muk., vi. be.
bīnīn, see *dīn.*
**birdin, ba(r)-*, = Sor., Muk.; War. *wa-*, vt. take, carry.
būrdin, būr-, vi. pass.
bārīn, bār-, = Sor., Muk.; War. *wārīn, wār-*, vi. rain.
birāān, birāē-, = Muk.; Piž. *birāīn*, vi. be roasted.

[1] In alphabetical order of *consonants*, as in § 169. Vowels (and *short* diphthongs, in the order: *a, ā, ē, ay, i, ī, ō, ū, aw, u, ū*) are only considered in initial position, or in the event of two words having the same consonant structure.

* See § 205 (*a*), end.

biřān, biřē-, vi. cease.
biřīn, biř-, = Sor., Muk.; War. *wiř-*, vt. cut.
bářānin, bářēn-; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. low, moo.
bōřānin, bōřēn-; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. low, moo.
•bastin, bast-, = Sor., Muk.; War. *was-*; Sur. *bēn-*, vt. tie.
•bīstin, bīs(t)-; Muk. *byē-*, vt. hear. [Arb. *gē lē būn.*]
bwārdin, bwēr- (bər-), = Sor., Muk., vt. pass.
baxšīn, baxš-, = Sor., Muk., vt. forgive.
baxīn, bax-, = Muk., vi. run.
bizūtin (bizwān), bizū-, = Muk.; Arb. *biziftin (bizwīn), bizū-*, vi. move, stir.
bēžīn, bēž-, ~awa; Arb. *bēštin (bēžīn)*, vt. sift.
būžān, būžē-, ~awa, vi. recover, convalesce.
bižārdin, bižēr-, = Muk., vt. pick, select.
[Piž. *bižārtin*, roast, see list II, s.v.]

čīlakīn, čīlak-; dā ~, vi. start, shy.
čamān, čamē-, = Muk.; Rdz. *čōmān, čōm-*, vi. bend.
•čūn, č-, = Sor., Muk.; Sur. *čōn, č-*, vi. go.
čānin, čēn-; Sor., Muk. *čāndin*, vt. sow.
činīn, čin-, = Sor., Muk., vt. 1 knit, 2 pluck.
čaqīn, čaqē-, vi. stick, be inserted.
čirīkānin, čirīkēn-; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. shriek.
čirpānin, čirpēn-; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. whisper
čōřān, čōřē-, = Muk., vi. drip.
časpān, časpē-, = Sor., vi. stick, adhere.
čēštin (čēžīn), čēž-, = Muk., vt. taste.

damānin, damēn-; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. blow.
•dān, da-, = Sor., Muk., vt. give.
•dīn (bīnīn), bīn-; Sor., Muk. *dītin*; War. *wīn-*, vt. see.
dirkānin, dirkēn-, vt. utter, blurt out.
dirūn, dirū-, = Muk.; War. *dūrīn, dūr-*, vt. sew [*sic*]; *~awa*, reap.
diřān, diřē-, = Muk.; War. *diřyān*, vi. tear, be torn.
diřīn, diř-, = Muk., vt. tear.
dōřānin, dōřēn-; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. lose *a game, stake.*
dōšīn, dōš-, = Sor., vt. milk.
•Muk. *dāštin, dēr-*, vt. irrigate.
dītin, see *dīn*.
dwān, dwē-, = Muk., vi. speak.
dizīn, diz-, = Sor., Muk., vt. steal.
dōzīn, dōz-; War. ? *waz-*; *~awa*, vt. discover.

fīkānin, fīkēn-; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. whistle.
farmūn, farmū-, = Sor., Muk., vt. order, deign.

firō(ī)tin, firōī-, = Sor., Muk., vt. sell.
fīrīn, fīr-, = Muk., vi. fly.
fīrān(d'in, = rīfān(d'in.
fīrānin, fīrēn-, vt. pass liquid stool.
fawtān, fawtē-, = Sor., vi. perish.

gilān, gilē-, = Muk.; War. *gilyān*, vi. tumble.
gilōftin, gilōf-, vt. rub, squeeze.
gān, gē-, = Sor., Muk.; War. *gāīn*, vt. copulate *with*.
gunjān, gunjē-, vi. be possible, occur.
ganīn, gan-, vi. rot.
gīrān, gīrē-, = Muk., vi. be caught, held.
gurūn, gurū-, = Muk., vt. flay *in one piece*.
gārānin, gārēn-, vt. cluck.
girsān, girsē-; Sor. *gīrsān*; War. *girsyān*; *dā ~*, vi. light, be kindled.
gīrsān, gīrsē-; War. *gīrsyān*; = *gīrān*.
girtin, gir-, = Sor., Muk., vt. take, hold.
giryān, girī-; Sor. *giryē-*; Muk. *? girya-*, vi. weep.
gaṙān, gaṙē-, = Muk.; War. *gaṙyān*, vi. wander.
gēṙān, gēṙ-, = Muk., vt. turn; *~awa*, relate.
gōṙān, gōṙē-, = Muk., vi. change.
gōṙīn, gōṙ-, = Muk., vt. change.
gastin (gazīn), gaz-, = Muk., vt. bite.
gaḷān, gaḷē-, vi. 1 bloom, 2 glow.
guṙīn, guṙ-; Sor., Muk. *kuṙīn, kuṙ-*, vt. press, squeeze.
gōtin, gutin, see *woutin*.
gwāstin (gwzān), gwz-; Muk. *gostin (gwztin)*; Arb. *gōstin, gōz-*; *~awa*, vt. move *house, home*.
gaīn (gaīltin, gayštin), ga-, = Sor., Muk.; War. *ga(ya)-*, vi. arrive.
gayānin, gayēn-; Sor. *-ānḍin*, vt. cause to arrive.
gazīn, see *gastin*.
gwzān, see *gwāstin*.
gawzīn, gawz-, vi. roll *in the dust*.

habūn, haya, = Muk.; Arb. *haya, hayt-*; War. *has*, vi. exist.
hēlān, see *hēltin*.
hēnān, (h)ēn-, = Muk.; Arb. *hīnān, (h)īn-*, vt. bring.
hōnīn, hōn-; Muk. *hōndin*; Arb. *hunīn, hun-*; *~awa*, vt. plait.
hanārdin, see *nārdin*.
hārīn, hār-, = Arb.; Piž. *hērīn, hēr-*, vt. grind.
hēltin (hēlān), (h)ēl-, = Muk.; Arb. *hēl-*; Rdz. *(h)ēr-*, vt. leave.
hātin, ē-, = Sor., Muk., vi. come.
*War. *hātwrdin, ēr-*, vt. bring.

•*(h)āwī(š)tin*, *(h)āwē(ž)-*, = Muk.; Arb. *hāwīštin* (*hāwē(š)tin*), *hāwē-*; Bin. *hāw-*, vt. throw.
hāžō(š)tin, see *āžwān*.

ḫajimīn, ? *ḫajim-*, vi. be still.
ḫīlānin, *ḫīlēn-*; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. neigh.
ḫapasān, ? *ḫapasē-*, = Muk., vi. be bewildered.
ḫasān, *ḫasē-*, = Muk.; *~awa*, vi. rest.
ḫawān, *ḫawē-*, = Muk., vi. stay, dwell.

jūlān, *jūlē-*, = Muk.; Arb. *jūrān*, vi. move.
jimīn, *jim-*, vi. move.
jūn, *jū-*, = Muk., vt. chew.
jinīn, see *anjinīn*.

kaftin, see *kawtin*.
kōkīn, = *kōxīn*.
kēlān, *kēl-*, = Muk., vt. plough.
kōlīn (*kōlān*), *kōl-*, = Muk.; Arb. *kōrīn*, vt. dig out.
kulān (*kulīn*), *kulē-*, = Muk.; Arb. *kurān*; Sur. *kōrīn*, *kōr-*, vi. boil.
kanin (*kaŋin*), *kan-*; Muk. *kandin*, vt. dig.
kanīn, *kan-*, = Muk., Arb.; *pē ~*, vi. laugh.
kirmānin, *kirmēn-*; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. crunch.
•*kirdin*, *ka-*, = Sor., Muk., vt. do, make.
kirō(š)tin, *kirōž-*, vt. crunch.
kirtānin, = *kirmānin*.
kirūzān, ? *kirūzē-*; *~awa*, vi. complain *of poverty*.
kiřīn, *kiř-*, = Muk., vt. buy.
kiřānin, *kiřēn-*; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. scratch.
kōřānin, *kōřēn-*; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. neigh.
kēšān, *kēš-*, = Muk., vt. pull.
kišān, *kišē-*, = Muk., vi. crawl.
kōšīn, *kōš-*, = Muk.; *tē ~*, vt. strive.
kušīn, see *gušīn*.
kuštin, *kuž-*, = Muk., Arb.; Piž. *kūž-*, vt. kill.
kawtin, *kaw-*, = Muk.; Arb. *ka(f)tin*, *kaw-*, vi. fall.
kutān, *kut-*, = Muk., vt. strike.
kutin, see *wutin*.
kōxīn, *kōx-*, = Muk., vi. cough.
kizānin, *kizēn-*, vt. scorch, singe.
kužān, *kužē-*, = Muk.; War. *kužyān*; *~awa*, vi. die down.

likān, *likē-*, = Muk., vi. adhere.
lālān, *lālē-*, = Muk.; *~awa*, vi. implore.

laqīn, laq-, = Muk., vi. move, shake.
lūrānin, lūrēn-; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. howl.
larān (*larīn*), *larē-*; *~awa*, vi. shake, tremble.
larzīn, larz-, = Muk., vi. shiver, tremble.
**lǐstin, lēs-*, = Muk.; Arb. *lēstin*; *~awa*, vt. lick.
lwān, lwē-, vi. be suitable.
lāwānin, lāwēn-; Sor. *-āndin*; *~awa*, vt. 1 soothe, 2 lament.
lawaṙān (*lawaṙīn*), *lawaṙē-*, = Muk., vi. graze.

mālīn, māl-; Muk. *mālīn* (*māltin*); Arb. *mārīn, mār-*, vt. sweep.
**mān, mēn-*, = Muk.; Arb. *mīnē-*; Rdz. *mīn-*, vi. remain.
mirdin, mir-, = Muk., vi. die.
miṙānin, miṙēn-; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. growl.
Muk. *mūsān, mūsē-*; *ṙā ~*, vi. kiss.
Muk. *mīstin, mīz-*, vi. urinate.
māltin, see *mālīn*.
maīn, ? *mayē-*, vi. coagulate.
mazrān, mazrē-, = Muk.; *dā ~*, vi. be established.
mižīn, miž-, = Muk., vt. suck.

nik|qānin, nik|qēn-, vt. moan.
nūkānin, nūkēn-, vt. moan.
**nān, né-*, = Muk., Arb.; War. *nīān, nē-*, vt. put.
nūqān, nūqē-, vi. close, clench.
nārdin (*hanārdin*), *nēr-*, = Muk., Arb., vt. send.
nōṙīn, see *nwāṙīn*.
nāsīn, nās-, = Sor., Muk., vt. know, recognize.
nūsān, nūsē-, = Muk., vi. adhere.
nūsīn, nūs-, = Muk.; Piž., Sur. *niwīsīn, niwīs-*, vt. write.
**nūstin, nū-*, = Sor., Muk.; Sur. *niwistin, niwo-*, vi. sleep.
nāltīn, nēž-, = Muk., vt. bury.
nīttin, nīl-, = Sor., Muk., vi. sit, settle.
nūltān, nūltē-, = Muk., vi. fold, bend.
nwānin, nøn-; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. show, (also caus. of *nūstin*).
Muk. *nwāṙīn, nwāṙ-*; Arb. *nōṙīn, nōṙ-*, = *ṙwānīn*.
nāzīn, nāz-, vi. be proud.

pāčīn, pāč-, vt. chop, clip.
pēčān, pēč-, = Muk., vt. fold.
pičiṙān, pičiṙē-, = Muk., vi. break, snap.
pičiṙīn, pičiṙ-, = Muk., vt. break, cut, sever.
pēkān, pēk-, vt. hit *a mark*.
pilōsīn, pilōs-; Arb. *parōsīn, parōs-*; *dā ~*, vt. maul.

pālāwtin, pālēw-, = Muk.; Arb. *pārāftin, pārēw-*, vt. filter, strain.
paqīn, paq-, vi. split, burst.
parmūn, parmū-, vi. trust.
pirsīn, pirs-, = Muk., vt. ask.
paristin, parist-, = Muk., vt. worship.
pārāstin, pārēz-, = Muk., vt. protect.
pirwānin, pirwēn-, vt. crumble.
paržān, parže-, = Muk.; War. *paržyān*, vi. be idle, have leisure.
piržānin, piržēn-; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. sprinkle.
parīn, par-, = Muk., vi. leap.
pārān, pāřē-, = Muk., vi. beg, beseech.
pirūzān (pirūskān), pirūzē-, vi. be singed, scorched.
pisān, pisē-, = Muk., vi. be torn, shredded.
pasārdin, see *sipārdin*.
pastin, past-, = Muk., vt. tread, crush.
palōkān, palōkē-, = Muk., vi. be confused.
pilkinīn, pilkin-, = Muk., vt. examine, inspect.
pilkūtin, pilkū-, = Muk.; Arb. *pilkiftin*, vi. bloom.
pišmīn, see *pižmīn*.
pīšān, pīšē-, vi. be baked.
pōšīn, pōš-, = Muk., vt. cover.
Muk. *pišāwtin, pišēw-*; Arb. *pišāftin*; *hal ~*, vt. rub, squeeze.
pēwān, pēw-, = Muk.; Arb. *pīwān, pīw-*, vt. measure.
pižmīn, pižm-; Muk., Arb. *pišmīn, pišm-*, vi. sneeze.
pižān, pižē-, vi. spurt.

qablānin, qablēn-, vt. evaluate, assess.
qūčānin, qūčēn-, vt. clench.
qilišān, qilišē-; Muk. *qališīn, qališ-*; Arb. *qarałtin, qaraš-*, vi. split, crack.
Muk. *qałāštin, qałēš-*, vt. split.
qawmān (qawmīn), qawmē-, = Muk., vi. happen.
qupān, qupē-, vi. be dented.
qirčān, qirčē-; *hal ~*, vi. 1 be scorched, 2 curl (*lip*).
qiřānin, qiřēn-; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. imprecate.
qīřānin, qīřēn-, vt. croak, caw.
qīžānin, qīžēn-; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. scream.

řifānin, řifēn-; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. snatch.
řimān (řimīn), řimē-, vi. collapse.
řīn (řīān), řī-, = Muk.; Arb. *řītin*, vi(t), stool, (defecate).
řanjān, řanjē-, = Muk., vi. be vexed.
řinīn, řin-, = Muk., vt. scratch.
**řistin, řēs-*, = Muk.; Arb. *řēstin*, vt. spin.
řišān, řišē-, = Muk.; *~awa*, vi. vomit.

fūšān, fūšē-, = Muk., vi. be abraded.
faštin, faž-, = War., vt. apply kohl *to the eyes.*
•filtin, fēž-, = Muk.; Arb. *fēltin*, vt. pour.
fītin, see *fīn.*
fūtān, fūtē-, ~awa, vi. become bare.
•fwān, ? fwa-, = Muk., vi. grow, sprout.
fawīn, faw-, = Muk.; *~awa*, vi. shy, flee.
fwānīn, fwān-, = Muk. (see *nwārīn*), vt. look at.
fūxān, fūxē-, = Arb.; Muk. *fuxān, fuxē-*, vi. collapse.
fōīn (*fōīštin, fōyn, fōyštin*), *fō-*, = Muk., vi. go.
fāzān, fāzē-, = Muk.; *~awa*, vi. be adorned.
fīzīn (*fīzān*), *fīzē-*, = Muk., vi. decay.
fīžān, fīžē-, = Muk., vi. pour, spill.

silawīn, ? silawē-, ~awa, vi. shy, flinch.
simīn, sim-, = Muk., vt. bore, pierce.
sān, see *stān.*
sūn, sū-, = Muk.; War. *swīn*; Arb. *swāndin, swēn-*, vt. rub.
•san(d)in (*stānin*), *sēn-*; Muk. *astāndin, -stēn-*; Arb. *stāndin, stīn-*, vt. take, War. buy.
sipārdin, sipēr-; Muk. *aspārdin, -spēr-*; Arb. *pasārdin, pasēr-*, vt. commit, entrust.
sirpānin, = *čirpānin.*
sirawtin (*sirawīn*), *siraw-*; Muk. *sirawān, sirawē-*, vi. rest, relax.
sirīn, sir-; Arb. *stirīn, stir-*; Muk. *astirīn*, vt. wipe.
sūrān, sūrē-, = Muk.; Sur. *siwirīn, siwir-*, vi. revolve, circulate.
•s(t)ān, s(t)-, = Muk.; *hal ~* (*hastān*), vi. rise.
Muk. *sōtin, sōž-*; Rdz. *sōt-*, vi. burn.
sūtān, sūtē-, = Muk., Arb., vi. burn.
stānin, see *sandin.*
sūtānin, sūtēn-; Sor. *-āndin*; Rdz. *sōtāndin, sōtīn-*, vt. burn.
sāzān, sāzē-, = Muk., vi. be reconciled.

škān, škē-, = Muk.; War. *škíyān*, vi. break.
šakān, šakē-, = Muk., vi. shake, tremble.
šalīn, šal-, = Muk., vi. limp.
šēlān, šēl-, = Muk., vt. tread, knead.
šilaqān, šilaqē-; Arb. *šilōqān, šilōqē-*, vi. shake.
šinīn, šin-, vi. quiver, glitter.
•šārdin, šār-, = Arb.; Muk. *šēr-*; *~awa*, vt. hide.
širīxānin, = *čirīkānin.*
•šitin, šō-; Muk. *šuštin*; Arb. *šāltin*; War. *šōrdin, šōr-*, vt. wash.
šēwān, šēwē-, = Muk., vi. be disturbed.

takān, takē-, vi. shake.
tikān, tikē-, = Muk., vi. drip.
tilān, tilē-, vi. roll.
tanīn, tan-, = Muk., vt. plait.
tānīn, see *twānīn*.
tapīn, tapē-, vi. be compressed.
tōpīn, tōp-, vi. die, drop dead (*animal*).
taqīn, taq-, = Muk., vi. burst, pop.
tōqīn (tōqān), tōqē-, = Muk., vi. 1 burst, 2 be terrified.
tirakīn, tirak-, vi. crack, burst, whelp.
tirūkānin, tirūkēn-; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. blink.
tōrān, tōrē-; War. *tōryān*, vi. be annoyed.
tirinǰān, tirinǰē-, vi. be crammed, stuffed *into something*.
**tirsān, tirs-*; Muk., Arb. *tirsē-*, vi. be afraid.
tiršān, tiršē-, vi. ferment.
tirāzān, tirāzē-, vi. come apart.
tirīn, tir-, vi. break wind.
tāsān, tāsē-, = Muk. vi. choke.
tāšīn, tāš-, = Muk., vt. cut, shave.
tūtān, tūtē-; *hal* ∼, vi. crouch.
twān, to-, = Muk.; Arb. *tāwān, tāwē-*; ∼*awa*, vi. melt.
twānīn, twān-, = Muk.; Arb. *tānīn, tān-*, vt. be able.
tazīn, taz-, = Muk., vi. be numbed.

wāqānin, wāqēn-, vt. cry (*newborn baby*).
warīn, war-, = Muk. vi. drop off.
wērān, wēr-, = Muk., vt. dare.
warīn, waṙ-, = Muk., vi. bark (*dog*).
wāsīn, wās-; Muk. *āwasīn, āwas-*; *hal* ∼, vt. hang up.
**wastān, wast-*, = Muk.; War. *wēsān, wēt-*, vi. stand, stop.
**wīstin, (a)wē-*, = Muk., vt. impers. want.
wašān, wašē-, = Muk., vi. sway, fall.
**wutin, -lē-*; Muk. *g/kutin*; Arb. *gōtin, -rē-*; War. *wutin, ēž-*, vt. say.

xulān, xulē-, = Muk.; ∼*awa*, vi. spin, revolve.
xilīskān, xiliskē-, = Muk., vi. slip.
xilāfānin, xilāfēn-, vt. deceive.
xalatān, xalatē-, = Muk., vi. be deceived.
xonin (xōyin), xon-; Piž., Muk. *xondin*; Arb. *xīndin, xīn-*; Rdz. *xwīn-*; Kōya, *xundin, xūn-*; Sur. *xōndin, xwīn-*, vt. study; ∼*awa*, read.
xinkān, xinkē-, = Muk., vi. choke.
xurīn (xurān), xurē-, = Muk., vi. itch.
xurpān, xurpē-, = Muk., vi. start, flutter.
xirōšān, xirōšē-, = Muk., vi. be in commotion.

xūsān, xūsē-, = Muk., vi. soak.
xuřīn, xuř-, = Muk.; *lē ~*, vt. goad.
xasānin, xasēn-; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. castrate.
•xistin, xa-, = Muk.; Arb. *ěxistin, ěx-*, vt. throw down.
xišān, xišē-, vi. slide, glide.
War. *xawtin, xaw-*, vi. sleep.
xāwānin, xāwēn-; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. deceive.
•xwārdin, xō-, = Sor., Muk., vt. eat.
xwāstin, xwāz-, = Sor., Muk., vt. demand.
xizān, xizē-, = Muk., vi. slide.

•zān (zāīn), zē-, = Sor., Muk., vi. give birth.
zānīn, zān-, = Muk., vt. know.
ziriyān, ziriyē-, vi. jingle.
zařīn, zař-, = Muk., vi. bray (*donkey*).

žākān, žākē-, = Muk., vi. be creased, crumpled.
žimārdin, žimēr-, = Sor.; Muk. *ažmārdin, -ažmēr-*, vt. count.
žanīn, žan-, = Muk.; Muk. also *žāndin, žēn-*, vt. beat, churn.
•žīān, žī-, = Sor., Muk., vi. live.

II. Dialects of Group II

Forms unmarked are Ak. The other main source is Zx. Many verbs, although attested in only one of these two dialects, are common, either in the form given or slightly modified, to all Bad. dialects.

ālīstin, ālīs-; Zx. *-tin*, vt. lick.
angiftin, angiv-; *hal ~*, vi. trip, stumble (cf. *hingāftin*).
înān, în-; Zx. *înādin* [sic], vt. bring.
ûrān, ûr-; *dā ~*, vt. swallow.
ēlān, ēš-, vi. hurt.
Zx. *āwīstīn, āwīs-*; *hil ~*, vt. hang up.
āxiftin, āxiv-; Zx. *-tin*, vi. talk.
•ěxistin, ěx-, vt. throw down, drop.

'alamāndin, 'alamīn-, vt. teach.
'axiqīn, 'axiq-, vi. be blocked.

bēhnišīn, see *pēkišīn*.
bihīstin, see *bīstin*.
buhuštin (buhušīn), buhuš-, vi. melt, dissolve.

• See § 280, end.

bahitīn, bahit-, vi. blanch.
bīn-, see *dītin*.
bón (*bīn*), *b-*; Zx. *bīn*, vi. be.
**birin, ba-*; Zx. *b-*, vt. take, carry.
birīn, bir-; Zx. *bórīn, bór-*; *ʔā ~*, vi. pass, go past.
birāštin, birēž-, = *bižārtin* 2.
bārtin (*bārdin*), *bēr-*; *ʔā ~*, vt. pass *time*.
biryān, biryē-; Zx. *birhān, birhē-*, vi. cease.
bāʔīn, bāʔ-, vi. bleat.
biřīn, biř-, vt. cut.
bóřīn, bóř-, vi. low, moo.
bastin, bast-, vt. freeze.
bīstin, ? *bīs-*; Zx. *bihīstin, bihīs-*, vt. hear.
biškiftin, biškiv-; Zx. *-tin*, vi. blossom.
Am. *bāwišīn, bāwiš-*, vi. yawn.
bizdyān, bizd-, vi. 1 snap, 2 be afraid.
biziftin, bizīv-, vi. move, budge.
bizāftin, bizēv-, vt. move.
bēž-, see *gōtin*.
bižārtin, bižēr-, vt. 1 choose, 2 roast (cf. *birāštin*)

čamyān, čamē-, vi. bend.
čón, č-; Sur. *čōn*; Shn. *čōn*, vi. go.
činīn, čin-, vt. 1 knit, 2 pluck.
čērāndin, čērīn-, vt. graze.
čēryān, čēryē-, vi. graze.
čīrāndin, čīrīn-, vt. tear.
čīryān, čīryē-, vi. tear.

**dān, da-*; Zx. *d-*, vt. give.
dirûn, dirû-, vt. 1 sew [*sic*], 2 reap.
Zx. *dērāndin, dērīn-*, vt. 1 sweat, 2 winnow.
daristin, dariz-, vi. split.
diřāndin, diřīn-, vt. tear.
dóřāndin, dóřīn-, vt. lose *game*.
diřyān, diřyē-, vi. tear.
dóžīn, dóž-, vt. milk.
**dītin, bīn-*; Zx. *-tin*, vt. see.
Zx. *dawisāndin, dawisīn-*, vt. press.
dizīn, diz-, vt. steal.

fikirīn, fikir-, vt. think.
**firōtin, firóž-*, vt. sell.

gahāndin, gahīn-, vt. cause to attain.
guhārtin, see *gōrān*.
guhastin, guhuz-, vi. move *house*.
Zx. *guhāstin, guhēz-*, vt. take home *bride*.
•*gihaltin* (*gaštin, gahīn*), *giha-* (*ga-*); Zx. *gahiltin, gah-*, vi. reach, ripen.
gilvičāndin, gilvičīn-, vt. crumple.
gērān, gēr-, vt. roll flat.
girīn, girī-, vi. weep.
gōrān (*gōrīn*), *gōr-*; Zx. *guhārtin, guhōr-*, vt. change.
gurōn, gurō-; Zx. *gurān* [sic], *gurō-*, vt. flay.
gērāndin, gērīn-, vt. take about.
girtin, gir-, vt. take, hold, contain.
gīryān, gīryē-, vi. be blocked.
gařyān, gařyē-; Zx. *gařhān, gařhē-*, vi. go about, wander.
gastin, gaz-, vt. bite.
gaštin, see *gihaltin*.
•*gōtin, bēž-*; Am. *gōtin, bē(ž)-*, vt. say.
givižīn, giviž-; Zx. *givāštin, givēš-*, vt. squeeze, press.

habōn, haya; Zx. *habīn*, vi. exist.
hēlān, hēl-, vt. leave, allow.
hingāftin, hingēv-, vt. strike (cf. *angiftin*).
hunēn, hun-, vt. smoothe.
hinārtin, hinēr-; Am. *-tin*, vt. send.
hariftin, harif-; Am. *-tin*, vi. be ruined, collapse.
hařižīn, hařiž-, vi. be crushed.
husūn, husū-; Zx. *hasūn, hasū-*, vt. rub.
hisyān, hisyē-; *va ∼*, vi. be at ease, relax.
•*hātin*, (*h*)*ē-*; Am. *-tin*, vi. come.
hāvētin, (*h*)*āvē*(*ž*)*-*; Zx. *-tin*, vt. throw.
hižmārtin, hižmēr-; Am. *-tin*, vt. count.
hižāndin, hižīn-, vt. brandish.
hāžōtin, (*h*)*āžō-*, vt. drive.

ḫabāndin, ḫabīn-, vt. love.
ḫajimtin, ḫajim-, vi. be still.
ḫilīn, ḫil-, vi. neigh.
ḫalyān, ḫal-; Zx. *ḫalhān, ḫalhē-*, vi. melt, dissolve.
ḫarimīn, ḫarim-, vi. be defiled.
ḫasyān, ḫasyē-, vi. be aware.
ḫažāndin, ḫažīn-, vt. stuff.
ḫawyān, ḫawyē-, vi. dwell, lodge.

ĵûn, ĵú-, vt. chew.
ĵaribāndin, ĵaribīn-, vt. try, attempt.

kaftin, kav-; Am. *kaftin*, Zx. *katin, kav-*, vi. fall.
kālīn, kāl-, vi. bleat.
kólān (kólīn), kól-, vt. carve.
kaliŝtin, kaliŝ-, vi. split.
kalāŝtin, kalēŝ-, vt. split.
kalyān (kalīn), kal-, vi. boil, be agitated.
kanīn, kan-, vi. laugh.
kārin, see *qārin*.
kirin, ka-; Zx. *k-*, vt. do, make.
kurôštin, kurôš-, vt. crunch.
kiryān, kirē-, vi. be done.
kiřīn, kiř-; Am., Zx. *kiřīn, kiř-*, vt. buy.
kēlān, kēl-, vt. attract.
kuštin, kuš-; Zx. *kuštin*, vt. kill.
kuxīn, kux-, vi. cough.
kuxiryān, kuxirē-, vi. be singed.

larizīn, lariz-, vi. tremble.
lavaryān, lavaryē-, vi. graze.

mahīn, mah-, vi. coagulate.
mālīn (māštin), māl-, vt. sweep.
**mān, mīn-*, vi. remain.
mirin, mir-, vi. die.
miryān, mir-; va ~, vi. die down, out(*fire*).
mīstin, mīz-, vi. urinate.
māštin, see *mālīn*.
mē(š)tin, mēš-, vt. suck.

nālīn, nāl-, vi. groan, lament.
nān, nē-; Am., Zx. *n-*, vt. put.
naqišāndin, naqišīn-, vt. decorate.
nērān, nēr-, vi. look.
nāsīn, nās-; Am. *nyāsīn, nyās-*, vt. know, recognize.
nâsyān, nâsyē-, vi. adhere, stick.
niłkinīn, niłkin-, vi. break in.
**ništin, nē-*; Am. *n-*; *řû ~*, vi. sit down.
nûštin, ? nûł-; řā ~, vt. fold.
nûšyān, nûšyē-, vi. alight (*bird*).
nivīsīn, nivīs-, = Zx.; Gul. *nivēsīn, nivēs-*, vt. write.
**nivistin, niv-*, vi. sleep.
nixāftin, nixēv-, vt. dress, wrap up warmly.

pēkižīn, pēkiž-; Zx. *bēhnižīn, bēhniž-*, vi. sneeze.
Am. *palaxīn, palax-*, vi. be shattered.
pandīfyān, pandīfyē-, vi. swell.
pangyān, pangyē-, vi. be stopped up, held back.
paqīn, paq-, vi. 1 split, 2 die (*animal*).
paqižīn, paqiž-; *hal ~*, vi. fly off (*sparks, wood chips*, &c.).
pirčiqīn, pirčiq-, vi. be squashed.
pirčyān, pirčyē-, vi. snap.
pirsīn, pirs-, vt. ask.
pārāstin, pārēz-, vt. preserve.
parxāndīn, parxīn-, vt. massage.
paṙīn, paṙ-; *tē ~*, vi. pass over, cross *a river*.
pāṙyān, pāṙyē-; *va ~*, vi. beg, beseech.
pisārtin, pisēr-; *hal ~*, vt. lean (*something*) against.
pōšīn, pōš-; *dā ~*, vt. cover.
paštīn, pašt-, vt. twist.
pātin, pēš-; Am., Zx. *paḫtin*, vt. cook, bake.
pīvān, pīv-, vt. measure.

Zx. *qadān, qad-*, vi. pass, suffice.
qahirīn, qahir-, vi. be angry.
qalyān, qal-, vi. fry.
qawmīn, qawm-, vi. happen, occur.
Am. *qaramtin*, ? *qaram-*, vi. freeze, be numb.
Shn. *qārin, qār-*; (Rwn. *kārin, kār-*), vt. be able.
qīrāndin, qīrīn-, vt. shout.
qarisīn, qaris-, vi. be clenched (*teeth*).
qusāndin, qusīn-, vt. cut.
qawšīn, qawš-, vi. crowd around.
qutān, qut-; Zx. *qutān, qut-*, hit, knock.
qatyān, qatyē-; Zx. *qathān, qathē-*, vi. finish.
qīžāndin, qīžīn-, vt. shout, yell.

Zx. *ṙabisāndin, ṙabisīn-*, vt. water (*land*).
**ṙistin, ṙēs-*; Am. *-tin*, vt. spin.
ṙašāndin, ṙašīn-, vt. sprinkle.
ṙē(š)tin, ṙēš-; Zx. *-tin*, vt. pour.
ṙiltin, see *ṙižyān*.
ṙaḫyān, ṙaḫyē-; *va ~*, vi. vomit.
ṙītin, ṙi-, vi(t), stool, (defecate).
ṙatqisīn, ṙatqis- [sic], vi. dance.
ṙavīn, ṙav-, vi. flee, elope.
ṙivān, ṙivē-, vt. abduct.
ṙawīn, ṙaw-, vi. bark.

řizīn, řiz-, = Zx., vi. rot, decompose.
řižyān, řižyē-; Zx. *řižhān, řižhē-*; Gul. *řiřtin, řiřhē-*, vi. pour, spill.

safyān, safyē-, vi. be filtered, strained.
simirīn, simir-, vi. be numb, freeze.
simtin, sim-; Am. *-tin*, vt. bore.
stāndin, stīn-; Zx. *ʂṯāndin, ʂṯīn-*, vt. take.
stiřīn, stiř-, vt. wipe.
siwiřīn, see *ziviřīn*.

ʂawlāndin, ʂawlīn-, vt. wash *rice*.
•ʂōtin, ʂōẓ-, vi/t. burn.
ʂṯāndin, see *stāndin*.

škāndin, škīn-; Am. *škēn-*, vt. break.
•škastin, škē-; Am. *-tin*, vi. break.
šēlān, šēl-, vt. knead.
šārtin, šēr-; *va ~*, hide, bury.
•šuštin, šō-; Gul. *šūštin*, vt. wash.
šawitīn, šawit-, vi. be spoilt.
šyān, šē-, vt. be able.

Zx. *taḫisīn, taḫis-*, vi. slip.
talifāndin, talifīn-, vt. destroy.
tapisāndin, tapisīn-, vt. dent, ram.
tirikīn, tirik-; Am., Zx. *ṫirikīn, ṫirik-*, vi. whelp.
tirsyān, tirṣ-, = Am., vi. fear, be afraid.
tirāšīn, tirāš-, vt. carve.

Zx. *ʈamirāndin, ʈamirīn-*, vt. put out (*fire, light*).
ʈaysīn, ʈays-, vi. shine.
ʈazīn, ʈaz-, = Am., Zx., vi. freeze, be numb.

•vyān, vē-, vt. want, wish.

warimtīn, warim-, vi. swell.
wērān, wēr-, vt. dare.
warāndin, warīn-, vt. envelop.
waryān, waryē-; *hal ~*, disintegrate.
•wastān, wast-; *řā ~*, vi. stop, stand.
wašāndin, wašīn-; *dā ~*, vt. shake.
wažyān, wažyē-; *hal ~*, vi. collapse.

xičyān, xičyē-, vi. be caught, deceived.
xalyān, xalyē-, vi. be dislocated (*wrist*, &c.).
xamilāndin, xamilīn-, vt. adorn.

**xundin, xûn-*; Zx. *xândin*; Gul., Shn. *xwandin*; vt. study, read.
xandiqândin, xandiqîn-; Shn. *xaniqândin, xaniqîn-*, vt. strangle.
**xârin, xó-*; Zx. *xu-*; Gul. *xwârin, xu-*; Shn. *xwârin, xô-*, vt. eat.
xurândin, xurîn-, vt. scratch.
xuryân, xuryê-, vi. itch.
xurîn, xuř-; *tê ~*, vi. challenge.
xasândin, xasîn-, vt. castrate.
xâstin, xâz-; Zx. *-tin*; Gul. *xwâstin, xwâz-*, vt. demand.
xišândin, xišîn-, vt. drag.
xwandin, see *xundin*.
xwârin, see *xârin*.
xwâstin, see *xâstin*.

zân, zê-, = Zx., vi. give birth (*animal*).
zânîn, zân-, vt. know.
zîryân, zîryê-, vi. tear, split.
zîřîn, zîř-, vi. bray (*donkey*).
zivirîn, zivirř-; Sur. *siwirîn, siwirř-*, vi. move, revolve.

žîn, žî-, vi. live.

'-, see before *b-*.

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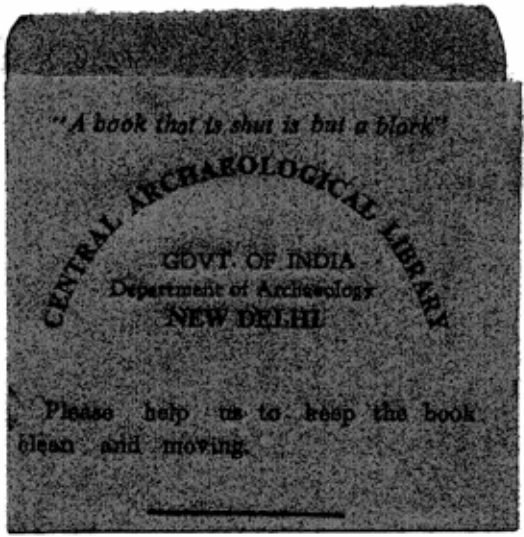
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